Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-93-241 *17 December 1993*

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Bosnia Meeting Confirmed for Brussels 22 Dec

AU1612142693 Paris AFP in English 1400 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Brussels, Dec 16 (AFP)—The leaders of the warring factions in Bosnia-Herzegovina are to meet with EC foreign ministers and mediator Lord Owen next Wednesday in Brussels, diplomats here said Thursday. Confirmation that the meeting would take place in Brussels came after UN diplomatic sources said Monday the session would take place in Geneva. The military commanders of UN forces in Bosnia, General Jean Cot and General Francis Briquemont, may also attend.

The meeting was requested by EC heads of state and political leaders at the European Community summit held in Brussels last week.

The faction leaders in the Bosnian conflict are to meet the previous day in Geneva, along with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

One of the main obstacles to a settlement is the lack of sufficient territorial concessions for a future Bosnian Moslem state. Earlier this month Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic, a Moslem, walked out of peace talks in Geneva complaining that no progress had been made after over three days of negotiation.

Bosnian Moslem leaders accused their Serb rivals, led by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, of jeopardising the talks by refusing to make further territorial concessions.

'Secret' Peace Talks for Bosnia Held in Vienna

AU1712083893 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 0600 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Report on an interview with Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock by Bettina Roither; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] The negotiations are considered to be secret. It is certain that both Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic and Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic will participate in them. Their main interlocutors are the two international mediators Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg. It cannot be ruled out that representatives of the Bosnian Serbs will come to the talks, but this was not yet sure yesterday evening. After the talks in Vienna Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg want to go to Belgrade.

A real breakthrough for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina at today's negotiations is not expected. Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock does not expect it, either. However, he assesses the negotiations as a good sign.

[Begin recording] [Mock] The negotiations have the goal to make a solution, which will probably be attempted in a larger forum with more participants in Geneva next week, more likely for the questions of whether 2 to 4 percent of the occupied territories will be returned to the legal government in Bosnia, whether the Bosnian Muslims will be given access to the sea, and, above all, whether the humanitarian aid and transports that go to Sarajevo, to Gorazde, and to other places, where mainly old and young people—primarily children—die of cold and starvation, can indeed reach these villages without being stopped. This has been promised very often, even in UN resolutions, but it has never been ensured.

[Roither] As you said, this talk also serves the preparation of more comprehensive negotiations on Bosnia. The European Union has threatened the Serbs with tightening the sanctions if they do not agree to return additional territory to the Muslims. Do you believe that this will happen?

[Mock] This will take a very long time. One must stress that the point was to return territories which were made subordinate to Belgrade—or, as it is said now, the Serbian republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina—through annexation by the Serbs, to the legal government and the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. These are about 3 to 5 percent.

[Roither] Do you expect—or do you consider it possible at all—that a breakthrough can be achieved before Christmas, as the European Union is striving for?

[Mock] I think it correct that one is striving for that, because one must simply never resign oneself to the facts in view of the terrible casualties, but, quite frankly, I do not consider it likely that it will be possible. It requires a minimum of realism and honesty to say so. [end recording]

By the way, in today's talks in Vienna Austria only plays the host. The focus of our efforts is humanitarian aid, in particular also regarding supplies of fuel. The commanders of the Muslim Bosnian government troops and of the Croatian units have meanwhile agreed on a Christmas cease-fire. However, such an agreement does yet not exist between Muslims and Serbs.

Zhulali Briefs U.S. Military Delegation

AU1612173093 Tirana ATA in English 1111 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Tirana, December 16 (ATA) - Albanian Defense Minister Safet Zhulali met December 15 with a military delegation of the U.S. headquarters for Europe led by General Link. Present at the meeting was also U.S. Ambassador William Ryerson.

Mr. Zhulali briefed the American delegation on aspects of the third stage of the reformation of Albanian Army and underlined that Albanian reformed army according to Western standards can undertake greater tasks in the NATO context.

Minister Zhulali confirmed the attitude of President Berisha to base Albania's relations in the field of defence and modernization of the Albanian Army on the United States and said that the Ministry of Defence and the Albanian Army are in favour of the attitude of President Berisha.

Assembly Approves Defense Cooperation With U.S.

AU1712095093 Tirana ATA in English 0910 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Tirana, December 17 (ATA)—The People's Assembly of Albania had plenary sessions on December 16. It unanimously ratified the memorandum of understanding signed between the Republic of Albania and the Department of Defence of the United States of America on October 8, 1993 in Washington and on October 14, 1993 in Tirana. The memorandum affirms the readiness of the two sides to promote cooperation in the field of defence and it envisages concrete aspects of this cooperation.

Berisha Meets Christian Democratic Delegation

AU1712095293 Tirana ATA in English 0909 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Tirana, December 17 (ATA)—On December 16, President Sali Berisha met with a delegation of the Union of People's Christian Democratic Parties of Europe led by the president of this union, Mr. Wilfrid Martens. President Berisha expressed his gratitude for the support that the parties of this union have given since the beginning to the democratic processes and forces in Albania and stressed his desire to continue this cooperation in the future as well.

The members of the delegation showed interest in the cooperation of Albania with other countries regarding foreign investment, Albania's relations with the European Community, the application of reforms in the field of justice, in the army and the achievements in in connection with rights of minorities.

Participants in the meeting talked about the policy of Albania with regard to the question of Kosova and its relations with neighbouring countries.

EC Briefs Ministries on Available Aid

AU1712104793 Tirana ATA in English 0924 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Tirana, December 17 (ATA)—A three day seminar, organised by the European Community commission in cooperation with the Scanderbeg Foundation (Catholic organization with its headquarters in Italy) ended proceedings December 15. The objective of the seminar was to help acquaint Albanian ministries with the structures of the European Community, and the nature of technical assistance they can offer to Albania, mainly in agriculture, infrastructure, telecommunication and transportation.

"It is necessary, and we must make known to Albanians, not only at ministerial level, how to acquire technical and financial assistance," Mr. Nico Van Dijk, engaged in Albanian affairs at the Directorate General of Audiovisual, Information, communication and Culture of the EC, told our ATA reporter.

Recently, the European Community decided to change the nature of assistance for Albania from an emergency and food aid to an aid which intends to give a new impulse to economic development.

"Since the establishment of diplomatic relations with Albania and so far, the EC has provided Albania with a total aid of 2.1 billion ECU. In the first phase we gave priority to humanitarian aid in the field of nutrition and medical equipment for hospitals. Lately, together with the Albanian Government, we set out priorities in the field of energy, telecommunication and infrastructure as well as transportation", Mr. Van Dijk said.

Recently the European Community has developed seven projects to provide assistance to Albania and in this regard Mr. Van Dijk said: "Our program of agriculture intends to provide farmers with equipment and seeds for the efficient exploitation of farm land and to attain other goals."

"Albania faces problems concerning production of food stuff, especially food processing. Although there is no shortage of agricultural stuff in Albania it lacks infrastructure which is a hindrance to transportation and processing of farm products", said Mr. Van Dijk, EC well-known experts for Albania who attended the seminar together with Mr. Robert Jarret, head of division external information.

The foundation was formed recently and brings together a lot of Albanian and Italian experts. The foundation plans to carry out many initiatives to help Albania. Cossiga, former Italian president who visited Albania recently is one of the founders of the foundation.

The EC projects in the context of humanitarian aid are funded by the UNDP and are estimated at 756,000 ECU.

European Political Delegation Meets Selami

AU1712122693 Tirana ATA in English 1109 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Tirana, December 17 (ATA)—DP [Democratic Party] leader Eduard Selami and secretary general, Tritan Shehu met with the delegation of European Christian Democratic party led by president Wilfrid Martens.

Mr. Selami briefed the European delegation on the organizational structure of the DP of Albania and put emphasis on the need of exchanging experience between the DP and Christian democratic parties of Europe and the world. Mr. Selami also informed them of the recent political developments in Albania, the problems arising due to carrying out the political, economic and social reform in Albania. Mr. Selami presented briefly the options and attitudes of the democratic government and the DP towards the Balkan crisis.

The delegation took interest mainly in the political-economic reform, the freedom and human rights especially the minority groups, the social policy of the government and other problems. The visiting European delegation appreciated political stability in Albania, laws in keeping with international standards, and the peaceful policy of Albania in the Balkans.

The European delegation took interest especially in the tolerance and spirit of understanding between religious faiths in Albania. Responding to the question why the DP is interested in becoming a member of European Christian democratic party Mr. Selami said that "This is our free choice, we appreciate Christian Democratic parties and those of the European Democratic Union."

Cabinet To Resume Talks With Striking Miners

AU1612183193 Sofia BTA in English 1655 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Sofia, December 16 (BTA)—Early next week the government will renew the negotiations with striking miners and protesting health care workers, said a government spokesperson today. At the talks, the government will be represented by Deputy Prime Ministers Evgeni Matinchev and Valentin Karabashev, Industry Minister Rumen Bikov and Health Minister Tancho Gugalov.

Late last night the leader of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) Ahmed Dogan mediated a meeting where the strike committees with the Miners' and Physicians' Federations with the Podkrepa Labour Confederation moved to government representatives a draft joint agreement. The meeting was attended by Deputy Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev, Industry Minister Rumen Bikov and Podkrepa President Konstantin Trenchev.

Today Bikov and Matinchev briefed the Council of Ministers on the progress of the negotiations. According to Matinchev, the miners' demand to set up a mine agency is not an industrial demand. Next week the government will probably approve a subsoil resources bill, urged by Podkrepa, said Matinchev. The law will probably treat burning issues for miners.

Cabinet Advances Effective Date of EC Agreement

AU1612171893 Sofia BTA in English 1638 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Sofia, December 16 (BTA)—The Council of Ministers today approved three documents related to the Interim Trade Agreement Between Bulgaria and the EC. The ministers advanced the dates for the entry into force of the interim agreement. The idea is to make up the delay in the document's signing, Foreign Minister Stanislav Daskalov told the press.

The cabinet set two dates to phase in the agreement, December 31, 1993 (instead of February 1, 1994) and January 1, 1994. As of December 31, 1993, about 69 percent of Bulgarian exports to the European Union and between 20 and 29 percent of European Union exports to Bulgaria will be duty-free, said Daskalov. As of January 1, 1994 more exports will liberalized.

The cabinet approved a protocol to the interim agreement, advancing dates for liberalizing trade in individual goods.

The ministers extended by a year the agreement with the EC on trade in small cattle and small cattle meat. Under the agreement, Bulgarian producers can export to European Union states 2,400 tonnes of animals and about 1,500 tonnes of meat.

Relaxing Macedonian Border Procedures Discussed

AU1612201593 Sofia BTA in English 1918 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Kyustendil, December 16 (BTA)—This southwestern Bulgarian town today hosted a bilateral meeting on the problems of the border checkpoints between Bulgaria and Macedonia. It was attended by representatives and experts from the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, the Interior, Finance, and Transport, and customs services and border veterinary control heads from the two countries, who discussed projects for simplifying and easing border and customs procedures for people and goods.

Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev sent a message to the participants, which said: "I warmly welcome the idea which brought you together today—to fulfill the wishes of people from the two countries for broad and unimpeded contacts and simpler procedures in business, culture and politics. The relaxed border-crossing requirements between our two countries will be a real, decisive step towards the European communication standards. This would be a good example to the other Balkan states."

Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov also wished success to the meeting. The projects discussed envisage considerable expansion of the border checkpoints and separate lanes for checking Macedonian and Bulgarian vehicles according to a simplified procedure. The participants launched an idea to form joint Bulgarian-Macedonian border control teams to cut the checking time.

Iranian Embassy Alleges Police 'Murder'

AU1612201393 Sofia BTA in English 1927 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Sofia, December 16 (BTA)—The criminals involved in last week's shoot-out in which one police officer was killed and two severely wounded have been identified, Interior Minister Viktor Mikhaylov told the press today. The incident took place during a police search for drug traffickers in a Sofia residential district.

The suspects escaped from the scene of the crime. Later on the Sofia Directorate of the Interior specified they were Iranian nationals. For a week the dailies ran extensive reports on the police search for the drug traffickers, as well as witnesses' accounts. Photos of the men wanted by the police were published in the newspapers. Two Iranians who resisted arrest in separate police operations were shot dead.

The Iranian Embassy in Sofia today faxed a message to BTA, containing what the embassy considers the truth about the "murder," to quote the message, of one of the Iranians, Masud Hematpur.

The Iranian national contacted an Embassy official on [December] 6 around 1115 PM to say he had been surprised at seeing his photo shown on television, as well as at the charges that he had committed a serious crime, the embassy's message says. The Iranian said he had called the police to give his address. He had also pledged to cooperate with the law-enforcement authorities until his innocence was proved, according to the message.

The ambassadors of ten Arab countries presented a protest note to the Foreign Ministry on Tuesday, saying the situation in Bulgaria "posed a danger" to Arabs. Ahmed Dogan, leader of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms, yesterday met with the ambassador of Morocco and today conferred with the ambassador of Palestine. The two diplomats voiced their concern over the upsurge of anti-Arab attitudes, according to information leaked to the media. The press today speculated that Dogan had been approached with a request for assistance.

The minister of the interior today said he would meet the ten ambassadors at their request next week.

Parliamentary Proceedings Detailed

AU1612210593 Sofia BTA in English 1933 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Sofia, December 16 (BTA)—Parliament ratified a 30 million ECU loan agreement between Bulgaria and the European Investment Bank, signed in Luxembourg this July.

Parliament ratified a draft agreement on a $55 million private investment and export financing loan between Bulgaria and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Prof. Todor Vulchev, governor of the central Bulgarian National Bank (BNB) made a special statement.

The MP's began second-reading debates on a bill on servicing bad corporate debts run up by December 1990. Working groups led by Ivan Kostov MP of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and ex-finance minister, and Atanas Paparizov MP of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), former minister of foreign economic relations, presented their own projects to settle the problem. The issue triggered off heated debates. According to approximate estimates, bad debts amount to 89 billion leva, posing a serious problem to the Bulgarian economy. According to an article passed by the MP's, bad debts not serviced for more than 180 days by July 31, 1993 will be swapped for long-term treasury bonds. "By burdening the state with those debts, you place a heavy burden our grandchildren," said Kostov on behalf of the SDS after voting this article.

As two standing committees failed to present a stand, the MP's voted down an SDS motion to consider a draft decision on government action to join NATO. SDS MP Asparukh Panov expressed indignation at the delay. Another SDS motion also failed, to continue the debates on a draft decision to open the police files of former state security collaborators.

World Bank's Wilton Supports Privatization Plan

AU1612210393 Sofia BTA in English 2026 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Sofia, December 16 (BTA)—Prime Minister Lyuben Berov and Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Karabashev met tonight with John Wilton, World Bank resident representative to Bulgaria, to finalize a joint memorandum of a working group, including representatives of the cabinet, the Privatization Agency, and the World Bank, on a mass privatization project, the Government Press Office said.

Mr. Wilton and the experts accompanying him described the government's mass privatization project as sensible, balanced and feasible. They said its speedy passage by parliament and the start of mass privatization in this country would give decisive impetus to the structural adjustment of the economy.

Prof. Berov thanked Mr. Wilton and the World Bank for the fruitful cooperation which, in the final analysis, is aimed at Bulgaria's integration into the community of democratic countries with a developed market economy, the press office said.

Amended Plan To Privatize Balkan Air Approved

AU1612192893 Sofia BTA in English 1529 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Sofia, December 16 (BTA)—The Council of Ministers today approved a Privatization Agency proposal to change the project to privatize Balkan Airlines, the national air carrier. It provides for the government to retain a 40 percent share in the carrier. The share of Bulgarian physical or juristic persons is set at at least 51 percent of the airline's capital. According to law, up to 20 percent will be sold to employees on easy terms.

The scheme provides for the airline to be denationalized through the open sale of shares or packages of shares, negotiations with potential buyers and an employee buy out. The airline's rules include clauses guaranteeing the government's interests and preserving the airline's status as a national carrier.

In her report to the Council of Ministers, motivating the requested amendment to the privatization scheme, Privatization Agency Director Reneta Indzhova accused Balkan's management of "being the cause of catastrophic financial results and of inefficiency." She told reporters the airline lost 600 million leva this year. According to Ms. Indzhova, the 1992 decision on privatization had nothing to do with real investor interest or prospects for a successful privatization deal. The management is to blame for the airline's unattractiveness to potential investors, according to the Privatization Agency

director. According to her, they chose the wrong consultants who dictated unfavourable terms to the Bulgarian side. Ms. Indzhova urged the government to seek responsibility from Balkan's management and the Ministry of Transport.

Transport Minister Kiril Ermenkov and Balkan's executive director Kostadin Botev do not share those views. According to him, the Privatization Agency should account for what they did themselves after the launch of the privatization procedure. According to Mr. Botev, the crisis in the carrier has been caused not by preparations for privatization but by the crisis of the business worldwide. Another reason is the old airplane fleet, which calls for large investment, according to him.

The government gave the Privatization Agency ten days to account for its participation in the preparatory and marketing stage of Balkan's privatization and the Ministries of Finance and Transport as long to carry out an audit of the airline.

Official Figures Issued on Inflation, Output

AU1612210493 Sofia BTA in English 1955 GMT 16 Dec 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Text] Sofia, December 16 (BTA)—Inflation in November ran at 4.6 percent. The figure reached so far this year is 57.8 percent, national radio said, quoting the National Statistical Institute (NSI).

Output peaked at 29,000 million leva in November. Sales in November totalled 32,000 million leva, according to NSI data on the economic situation in November.

Fifty enterprises reporting a 40-percent plus drop in output account for 85 percent of the general drop in receipts. These are enterprises of the food industry, machine engineering, chemical industry and electronic engineering, according to the NSI.

The first signs of hyperinflationary pressure on the Bulgarian financial market are a fact, Valentin Mollov, president of the Union for Private Economic Enterprise, told a news conference today. Mollov, who is also leader of a financial group of the same name, predicted the dollar would rise against the lev slowly but steadily. Mollov said an exchange rate of 60 leva to the dollar in 1994 could not be ruled out. Few state-owned enterprises are worth privatizing but they will be sold "under the counter" to people loyal to one party or other, Mollov said. The depreciation of fixed assets in most state-owned enterprises is over 80 percent and reconstruction would soak up funds exceeding the value of the fixed assets, which makes the purchase of state-owned enterprises a poor investment, Mollov also said.

Owners of gas weapons must have them registered by the police, Interior Minister Viktor Mikhaylov said. Yesterday he signed an order for a temporary registration regime that will be effective until a requirement for permission to possess gas weapons is introduced.

Former communist leader Todor Zhivkov again failed to appear in court today, BTA learned from a prosecutor of the Prosecutor General's Office. Zhivkov, who fell ill last Wednesday, has had his term of treatment extended. Charges of granting the dollar equivalent of 22 million leva from the national budget to the Communist Party of the former Soviet Union will be brought against him on Monday. He faces a sentence of 10 to 30 years.

The Prosecutor General's Office said today former Communist Premier Georgi Atanasov and former Minister of the Economy and Planning Stoyan Ovcharov filed new appeals, saying there were important documents related to their trial. The court will consider the appeal. Atanasov and Ovcharov are in prison, serving sentences of ten and nine years respectively, for the misappropriation of 210,000 leva. Prosecutor Kalina Popova said she saw political motives behind the move made by Atanasov and Ovcharov.

The Movement for Rights and Freedoms in Kurdzhali (southern Bulgaria) organized commemorations of the 9th anniversary of the forcible assimilation campaign against ethnic Turks in Bulgaria.

Medics in Pazardzhik (southern Bulgaria) are continuing their protest actions which started on Monday. They demand that wages for October and November be paid by the end of December and urge the cabinet and the local government to guarantee the future of the medical staff and the equipment of the district hospital.

Nearly 1.5 million Bulgarians live in Vardar Macedonia, scholars of the Sofia-based Macedonian Research Institute said at a news conference today. It was held in connection with the 70th anniversary of its founding. By Bulgarians they mean people who have identified themselves as such for centuries. Due to low birth rates, however, Bulgarians will become a minority in Macedonia within 10 to 15 years, according to the scholars. The institute was founded with the University of Sofia on December 21, 1923, by 52 scholars, writers and public figures, representing Macedonian Bulgarians. It was closed down in 1947 by a decree of the communist regime at the request of Skopje and Belgrade. The archives, the rich museum collection and the remains of famous revolutionary Gotse Delchev were handed over to Skopje.

Delegates of all population centres where there are branches of the Business National Free Trade Union today delivered a protest declaration to the National Assembly. According to them, provisions of the Turnover and Excise Duties Act concerning catering businesses and holiday centres are unenforceable. Businesses suspend tax payments until the act is repealed or a moratorium is imposed on it. The act should be repealed retroactively as of August 13, 1993, says the declaration.

Ministry Denies Helping French Defy Embargos

AU1612195093 Prague CTK in English 1732 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Prague, Dec 16 (CTK)— It is legally impossible for French-made armaments to be exported to Libya or Iraq via the Czech Republic, Bretislav Gregr, an official in the Licensing Department of the Czech Ministry of Trade and Industry, told CTK today.

Gregr was reacting to a claim made in Wednesday's edition of the French weekly newspaper LE CANARD ENCHAINE that French weapons companies can circumvent arms embargoes with the help of Czech middlemen.

It is out of the question that arms could be imported into the Czech Republic that are destined to be re-exported, he said. The state issues an end-user confirmation which obliges it not to re-export imported goods. He added that the ministry would not permit the export of weapons without the permission of the state from which they originated.

Gregr rejected the possibility that Czech arms manufacturers could assemble weapons provided by French companies with the purpose of exporting them. That sort of cooperation did not exist, he said.

Furthermore the Licensing Department of the Ministry of Trade and Industry was obliged to consult the Foreign Ministry about the export of weapons. Export to Libya or Iraq would not be permitted, he said.

Foreign Ministry Spokeswoman Lucie Pilipova told CTK that the Czech Government had not issued any license for the export of arms or any military materiel to Libya or Iraq since the last elections because, last December, it had decided to follow the U.N. Security Council sanctions against Libya.

Army General: Claim 'Absurd'

AU1612194993 Prague CTK in English 1828 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Prague, Dec 16 (CTK)— The claim that French arms are exported to Libya and Iraq in defiance of the embargo via the Czech Republic is absurd and untrue, Major General Oldrich Barta said today.

Barta, who is director of the Czech Army's Central Logistical Office, was referring to a report in the French weekly LE CANARD ENCHAINE that claimed French weapons companies can circumvent the Security Council's arms embargoes with the help of Czech middlemen.

He told CTK that the only true fact in the weekly's article was that on October 25-27 a delegation from GIFAS, which associates over 170 French companies working in the aviation and space industry, did visit Prague.

GIFAS representatives asked the Czech Defense Ministry to arrange a meeting with some Czech arms manufacturers in order to promote better mutual understanding, Barta said.

Barta stressed that no agreements on cooperation had been signed or discussed by the Defense Ministry and GIFAS. He added that Czech arms manufacturers did not export any French weapons or produce them under license.

Russian Vote No Cause for 'Hasty' Measures

AU1612150693 Prague CTK in English 2135 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Prague, Dec 15 (CTK)— Interior Minister Jan Ruml said today it was necessary to proceed circumspectly and not take any hasty security measures in view of the results of this weekend's elections in Russia.

Asked if he expected a rise in Russian intelligence activity, Ruml said it was necessary to assess the new situation first and see who in the Russian intelligence services would be keeping his job. He added that he was personally very disquieted by the election results.

Dlouhy on Importance of GATT Agreement

AU1612142893 Prague CTK in English 1059 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Prague, Dec 16 (CTK)— Czech Minister of Trade and Industry Vladimir Dlouhy stressed the importance of the multilateral agreement on world trade liberalization—the so-called Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)—for the Czech Republic.

Speaking on Czech Television yesterday, Dlouhy said the Czech economy was to be more and more dependent on exports, because its capacity is higher than the domestic demand.

"Each agreement facilitating conditions for world trade, eliminating trade barriers, and enabling us to more easily export and penetrate foreign markets, is very important," pointed out Dlouhy.

He added that advantages ensuing from the Uruguay Round may not manifest themselves immediately, but would favor long-term prospects for Czech exports.

Klaus Sees 'Great Impetus'

AU1612143093 Prague CTK in English 1200 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Prague, Dec 16 (CTK)— The GATT Agreement on the liberalization of world trade, approved by the (UN-sponsored) organization's 117 members in Geneva yesterday, is a great impetus for the Czech Republic, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus told CTK today.

"The agreement is a huge impetus for world trade and production," he said, adding that countries open to trade will profit more from it than those which put up barriers against world trade.

More than half of the Czech Republic's gross domestic product comes from foreign trade, which is why "(the agreement) is doubtless a bonus (for it)," Klaus said.

"I had always believed that an agreement would be signed," Klaus added.

Agreement With Austrian Army Leaders Signed

AU1512194093 Prague CTK in English 1450 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Vranov nad Dyji, south Moravia, Dec 15 (CTK)—The Czech Republic's and Austria's top military leaders have signed an agreement on cooperation between the two countries in 1994.

The agreement, signed by Czech Chief of Staff Major General Jiri Nekvasil and the Austrian inspector general, General Karel Majcen, provides for cooperation in the area of health services and in individual defense ministry units. Most of it concentrates on cooperation among individual army units, especially along the border.

The generals said they agreed that this cooperation between the two countries could contribute to their eventual admission to European structures.

RFE Czech Program Director on Station's Future

AU1612141093 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 14 Dec 93 p 2

[Interview with Pavel Pechacek, director of the Radio Free Europe Czech program, by Josef Maraczi; place and date not given: "'Svobodka' [RFE nickname] Will Move to Prague"]

[Text] This radio station was established in 1949. It played a vital role during the time of dark totalitarianism, as it helped to bring about the fall of the communist dictatorship. It is only now that it has to face the problems of its future. These problems arise mostly from the huge deficit in the United States and the fact that the U.S. Congress is trying to cut the budget wherever possible. The representatives of the Czech Government are to submit complete documentation to the Board for International Broadcasting in the United States (BIB) by 21 December, and the board will decide on the future. In this context, we asked Pavel Pechacek for an interview.

[Maraczi] Is there any certainty for your listeners that they will be able to tune in to broadcasts, if only from Prague?

[Pechacek] The Czech Section of RFE [Radio Free Europe] will certainly move to Prague at the beginning of next year. In any event, it will be with a reduced staff and apparently also with reduced broadcasting time.

[Maraczi] Could there still be organizational complications?

[Pechacek] It would be different if the entire Free Europe and Radio Freedom moved to Prague. That is a question that will be settled in the next few months. We are in Prague because the BIB charged us with conducting concrete negotiation on this possibility with the Czech Government. On the basis of the outcome, Washington will decide whether the station remains in Munich or moves to Prague, or possibly to Washington.

[Maraczi] If the U.S. board's decision is unfavorable, only a part of the station will move to Prague?

[Pechacek] The Czech Section will move to Prague for certain.

[Maraczi] At the time you will begin to broadcast from Prague, will there be any fundamental changes in the broadcasts—that is deletions from the program or additions?

[Pechacek] I will do my best to prevent any fundamental changes. That is, because in the past four years, we have changed our broadcasts in the sense that we adjusted the content to the new situation in Czechoslovakia after 1989. Of course, I would like to preserve the main pillars of our broadcast. Although it is never pleasant to have fewer employees than we have been used to, I believe it will be possible because we will be electronically connected with our center, which transmits the most interesting news from all the world's agencies, press, etc.

[Maraczi] Some papers tend no longer to write about the 1950s. Will Free Europe continue dealing with the 1950s?

[Pechacek] It is only natural that we deal in our broadcasts mainly with the present as it affects the future—that is how I would describe it. Nevertheless, and our listeners are well aware of this, this is not possible without also recalling the past including, of course, the 1950s.

Pavel Pechacek last week denied the gutter press reports that the taxpayers would have to subsidize RFE and Radio Freedom broadcasts, and described this claim as pure nonsense. The building of the former Federal Assembly could become the headquarters of both stations. In the event of the transfer of both stations to Prague, the program would be broadcast in 21 languages. Another possibility is to accept Czech Radio's offer that RFE and RF can rent half of the Pankrac [Prague district] radio center.

Klaus Reveals Government Plans for End of Year

AU1512135693 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 11 Dec 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Roman Krasnicky; place and date not given: "The Government To Face Serious Conceptual Debates"]

[Text] Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus answers topical questions from correspondent Roman Krasnicky in the regular column:

[Krasnicky] A balanced budget was adopted this week. The Czech Republic is becoming a prosperous state. In this context, however, the danger of a wave of migration directed at the Czech Republic has been referred to. Do you consider this a problem?

[Klaus] A balanced budget is a desirable and respectable undertaking. Under no circumstances, however, would I want to speak about the balanced budget as proof of prosperity. The Czech Republic has become a stable country, in which the currency is much firmer than in any other postcommunist country. The domestic exchange rate has not changed for 36 months. These are the prerequisites for political and social stability which could be a reason for migration to our country. Nevertheless, I believe that everything in the world has its quantitative side. It is my impression that there is a threat of a certain continuous growth. I do not expect, however, any discontinuity. In my opinion, the political, social, and economic situation in the countries of former Yugoslavia and former Soviet Union is such that the citizens of these countries—if all the a priori hypotheses were valid—have already had thousands of reasons to emigrate. If they did not, and the contemplated mass migration did not take place, it proves me right, as I came to the conclusion that it would not take place.

[Krasnicky] According to the Security Information Service reports, several intelligence services, including the Russian one, operate in the Czech Republic. Does this concern you as prime minister?

[Klaus] There is no doubt that both as prime minister and as a citizen I would like to live in a world without intelligence services and espionage. It is out of the question, however, that these services operate in 150 states of the world and they all decide to respectfully bypass the Czech Republic. The important thing is that they do not interfere in our internal affairs.

[Krasnicky] At the Civic Democratic Party news conference, you said that you have short-term, pragmatic goals. What do you still plan to do before the end of the year?

[Klaus] I have just signed the agenda for the government session on 15 December, which lists approximately 25 items. Of course, the government will also convene on 22 December, and a ministerial meeting will take place a day earlier. At that time, we are going to have on hand a new version of Minister Lux's material on agricultural policy, i.e., another reason for a serious economic reflection. Yet another thing is the large body that has been accumulated of conceptually difficult issues which require serious discussion. I will have to organize several fundamentally conceptual consultations to be attended by relevant ministers. I admit that one of the entangled issues is the situation in Czechoslovak Airlines. I admit that the issue of the future of foreign trade has also become tangled. The question is whether it will be supported by the state as it was done by the Ministry of Foreign Trade, or whether this task will be assumed by the trade attaches at our embassies. So, a meeting of selected ministers and other experts will take place on this issue next Thursday [16 December]. There are many such conceptual topics. The third matter is another stage of the discussion on rationalizing the state administration and by implication the constitutional arrangement. I expect a half-day debate at the Wednesday session of the government.

Dyba: GDP Figures Understate Picture

PM1612111093 London THE EUROPEAN in English 17-23 Dec 93 p 28

[Report on interview with Czech Minister of Economy Karel Dyba by Justin Keay; place and date not given: "Czech Economy Chief Demands Patience and Understanding"]

[Text] Karel Dyba, the Czech Republic's Minister of Economy, throws down some cuttings from a well-known English business daily.

"Where do you Western journalists get your information? To whom do you speak to get such negative impressions?" He demands.

The stories highlight corruption, inefficiency and other problems reportedly affecting the country's second wave of privatization. "How come I've never heard of these problems? I'm sure you people must make them up."

Even by the self-assured, seldom modest standards of the Czech Republic's present government, Dyba is not one for holding back.

He maintains that Western journalists are inclined to search out bad news, to find, as he puts it, grey clouds in an otherwise blue sky.

To counter this, Dyba reels off the Czech Republic's successes: voucher privatization, which has created an estimated four million shareholders (in proportional terms this makes it the world's largest shareholding democracy); an underlying monthly inflation rate of one percent, with the bulk of this year's expected ten percent inflation attributed to such one-offs as The imposition of valued added tax and other new taxes; low unemployment, (around four percent); and a strong export performance expected to more than compensate for the estimated 40 percent drop in trade with Slovakia since the beginning of the year.

He cited the government's 65 percent approval rating in the polls as evidence of its success. "You show me a country which has effected such changes, in such a short period of time, with such little overall disruption."

Unlike many of his peers, Dyba did not emigrate after 1968, when the policies of the "anti-socialist" economist, Ota Sik, brought about Soviet leader Brezhnev's displeasure and led directly to the invasion.

Indeed, at a time when intellectuals were central Europe's biggest unofficial export to the West, he returned from only two years of graduate studies in Canada to pursue a low-profile career at the Czechoslovakia academy of Sciences, along with his future boss, Vaclav Klaus.

Dyba is an enthusiastic advocate of his government's radical free-market policies, initiated by Klaus when he was finance minister in the post-revolution Civic Forum.

"I never felt that we had any choice but to pursue the policies we did. We had so much to do, so much ground to make up," He says. "I do not think that we've made many major mistakes."

In Dyba's view, the split with Slovakia falls into this category: given the divergent economic and political priorities of the two governments elected after last June's federal elections, they had little choice but to call it a day.

"The arguments would have dragged on and on, and we'd have been devoting all our energies to keeping together something which could not last," he said. He points out that, among other things, the government of Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar just would not accept that Slovakia was a net recipient of federal funds.

"Today, although we are in different states, our people remain friendly and I think it will always remain this way. Besides, don't forget that they, not us, wanted it this way," he says.

Dyba believes his government's biggest success is the creation of a stable low-inflationary environment conducive to the development of the private sector.

He feels that its inherent strength—particularly in services such as tourism, hotels, transport, and small shops—is sufficient to absorb most of those displaced by the restructuring of the state sector, even though much of the pain is yet to come.

"There is plenty of dynamism in our economy. Indeed, I think our official growth figures (which point to gross domestic product growth of about 0.5 percent for 1993) significantly understate the activity that is really going on.

"Look at the low unemployment, at our export performance, and at the strong demand for credit," Dyba says. As a specialist in macroeconomics, Dyba is particularly proud that, rather than having to renounce his beliefs and theories, he has had the opportunity to put them into practice. Despite this, he is aware that they have not met with universal acclaim.

"Many people here think that those who get rich must be crooks. It is difficult for them to accept that you can get rich quite legitimately through business."

"I would say to them: have patience—things cannot improve for everybody immediately," Dyba says.

"I would also point out that there is strong confidence in our economy: our foreign exchange reserves are high and continue to grow, while foreign institutions continue to invest—many of them also providing loans directly to our businesses."

If there are any concerns weighing him down Dyba shows little sign that they are causing him to lose sleep.

"I am optimistic about our future. Of course, I think our economy has been well managed.

"However, I am aware that there are limits to what the government can do to influence things."

Press Comments on New KDS Chairman

AU1512134493 Prague CTK in English 0802 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Excerpt] Prague, Dec 13 (CTK)—All major Czech dailies comment today on the replacement of Vaclav Benda by Ivan Pilip as chairman of the Christian Democratic Party (KDS) at its congress this weekend.

The right-leaning CESKY DENIK writes that with Benda's departure, the party's dissident vigilance has given way to a consensus-oriented pragmatism, and that both the KDS and the Christian Democratic Union (KDU) now find themselves on the path to the creation of a single Christian party in the Czech Republic.

Let us hope only that Vaclav Benda's warning of a schism in the party immediately following the congress doesn't come true, CESKY DENIK writes.

The independent MLADA FRONTA DNES writes that Benda's departure is further proof that the revolutionary period is over: One of the most courageous dissidents must clear the field for an ambitious, 30-year-old politician of the new generation.

It adds that Czechoslovak People's Party Chairman Josef Lux and Civic Democratic Alliance Deputy Chairman Daniel Kroupa threw out some bait, when they made it clear, as guests of the congress, that unlike Benda, they saw in Pilip a comrade-in-arms. It is not to be ruled out that Benda's fall paradoxically could bring closer the realization of his great dream, the integration of the right, MLADA FRONTA DNES writes.

The right-leaning DENNI TELEGRAF calls Benda a highly moral individual and one of the few genuinely conservative politicians. It comments that the conflict between the two wings of the KDS was not merely a fight over who will look better on television than Benda: What fundamentally distinguishes Pilip from his predecessor is his relation to the past.

The daily writes that Pilip's position will not be simple, even if he manages to effectuate his ideas. The definitive departure of the KDS from the political scene would bring a not inconsiderable weakening, especially for political entities with conservative values, it writes.

The left-leaning RUDE PRAVO writes that the victor in the KDS is a wing represented by young politicians who intend to turn their party around by means of a 'positive program' and an improved image.

The independent LIDOVE NOVINY writes that the leadership change signifies the party's search for a new identity, and that it now finds itself in a paradoxical situation: The situation of the party, which holds two ministerial posts and the vice-chairmanship of parliament, yet which in all voter preference polls finds itself below the necessary five percent delectability limit, is genuinely paradoxical and bodes uncertainty for the future.

Another paradox, LIDOVE NOVINY writes, is the very existence of two Christian parties among such a secular nation as the Czechs. [passage omitted]

KDS To Adhere to 'Current Principles'

AU1512204093 Prague CTK in English 1514 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Prague, Dec 15 (CTK)— The results of last weekend's fourth congress of the Christian Democratic Party (KDS) clearly confirmed the party's adherence to its current principles, but also reflected certain changes in society and the need for a dynamic party, KDS Chairman Ivan Pilip said today.

Pilip was elected chairman at the conference to replace Vaclav Benda.

He said the KDS should in the future contribute to "appraising properly the non-material aspects of the transformation of society."

Pilip also emphasized the need for the KDS to define its own program and carefully consider cooperation with all its coalition partners. "The possibility of entirely good relations with all of them is there without question," he said.

Benda said he completely respected the democratic results of the election, and that the new leadership would enjoy his full support. The KDS holds ten seats in parliament.

Klaus, TU Leader Fail To Agree

AU1612150593 Prague CTK in English 1208 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Prague, Dec 16 (CTK)— Union representatives are determined not to sign the General Agreement for 1994 unless the government and employers comply with union demands concerning the expansion of collective bargaining agreements, chairman of the Czech and Moravian Chamber of Trade Unions (CMKOS) Vladimir Petrus said today.

Speaking at a press conference following his working breakfast with Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus, Petrus said that: "It is better not to have any general agreement than a bad one capable of guaranteeing nothing." He said all three partners in the Council of Social and Economic Agreement (the tripartite), comprised of representatives of the government, unions, and employers, would seek to reach a consensus on this question which should be solved so that none of the parties suffered and so that the final outcome is acceptable to all parties involved.

Klaus said he believed that he and Petrus "found a certain conceptual solution during today's meeting which would slightly change the General Agreement and would single out the goals and the methods of their achievement."

Both Petrus and Klaus stressed that the government and unions did not differ in their goals but in methods by which they believed these goals should be implemented.

Klaus said that in his view talks on the General Agreement have proceeded "comparatively far" and that the goal of today's meeting was to discuss some "unsolved problems or to find some softening positions acceptable to all sides."

Petrus told Klaus that insufficiently solved problems in the social sphere are considered by the unions to be the major shortcoming of economic reform. He said that the future restructuring of industry and the problem of requalification of employees could prove to be a main cause of the acceleration of social tension in regions and branches.

SNS Not To Support Budget in Present Form

AU1612195293 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 15 Dec 93 p 2

[TA SR report: "Rather a Political than a Businesslike Meeting"]

[Text] Bratislava—The meeting between the Clubs of Deputies of the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia and the Slovak National Party [SNS] ended without any results yesterday. The Slovak National Party Chairman Ludovit Cernak expressed disappointment over the fact that the meeting had a political rather than a businesslike character. According to him, the Slovak National Party has never questioned the coalition and wants to put forward proposals through the adoption of which "the future budget would stabilize the Slovak statehood and would not put it at risk, as the preliminary government-drafted budget does. Some of the macroeconomic indices in the draft budget will be examined by Slovak National Party experts. The Slovak National Party will not support the presented draft budget in its current form," Cernak said.

KDH: Parliamentary Committees Reject Budget

AU1612150493 Prague CTK in English 1406 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 16 (CTK)— The 1994 budget bill submitted to parliament by the government testifies to its irresponsible approach to the financial resources of the people, Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) parliamentary deputy Mikulas Dzurinda told journalists today.

Already by submitting the budget late the government violated the law on budget regulations, he said, adding that the budget was based on unrealistic principles, lacked a basic idea, and did not contribute to the necessary mobilization of the Slovak economy. Besides, it was not supported by eight of the ten parliamentary committees, he said.

The statement by government officials that the budget deficit would act in a mobilizing manner was not correct, Dzurinda said, because investment for the next year would be cut by another billion crowns (some $33 million) against 1993. He pointed to the efforts at covering the planned deficit from the resources of the National Property Fund.

He said the fund was not a liquid one and that both the Slovakia Bank which is being established in Banska Bystrica, central Slovakia, and Slovak armaments works were setting their sights on it. He described as puzzling and incomprehensible the government's lack of interest in discussing the budget bill in economic and budget parliamentary committee.

KDH Chairman Jan Carnogursky said that the goal of the Slovak opposition was to create a conceptual alternative to the current government so that in the event of "power dropping from its hands" the current government crisis would not become Slovakia's national crisis. At the same time he voiced the conviction that the opposition was moving ever more quickly in this direction.

Parliament Holds Debate on Hungarian Autonomy

AU1612215693 Prague CTK in English 1945 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 16 (CTK)— Attempts by the Hungarian ethnic minority to create an autonomous province in south Slovakia were dismissed by deputy Milan Janicina (Slovak National Party, SNS) today as provocation prepared on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Slovak Republic.

Speaking at a parliamentary session, which opened on Wednesday [15 December], Janicina stressed that the Slovak Republic exercised sovereign power all over the state's territory. If the Slovak Parliament wants to act as the parliament of a sovereign state, it must not be deaf and blind to what is going on in the country, Janicina said. Jan Fekete from the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) said that autonomous regions had not proved well functioning anywhere in Europe.

The HZDS and the SNS form the present coalition government.

The creation of a Hungarian province in south Slovakia has been initiated by the Association of Towns and Villages of Zitny Ostrov (SMOZO) which has convoked a meeting of local elected officials in Komarno on January 8. The meeting is allegedly to establish a 100-member assembly. Some 560,000 ethnic Hungarians live in Slovakia, forming 11 percent of the country's population.

Erno Rozsa from the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (MKDH) defended the SMOZO plans by saying that the initiative of the mayors of towns and villages on Zitny Ostrov was not at variance with the Constitution and legislation because it did not jeopardize Slovakia's sovereignty. He said he was referring to the articles of the Slovak Constitution which guarantee freedom of expression and minorities' political rights.

The MKDH and Egyutteles groups submitted to the parliament's representatives a draft project for coexistence of minorities in Slovakia in the spirit of the Slovak Constitution, but it has been passed neither to committees nor to a plenary session, Rozsa said. That is why the two groups have decided to start a public discussion on the problem, he added.

The MKDH and Egyutteles have 14 out of a total of 150 seats in the Slovak Parliament. Other smaller ethnic minorities in Slovakia are Czech, Ruthenian, Ukrainian, German, Pole, Moravian, Russian, Silesian, and Romany (Gypsy).

SNS Criticizes Meciar on Issue

AU1612201893 Prague CTK in English 1554 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 16 (CTK)— Some Slovak institutions conduct an "ostrich policy" regarding the idea of the Association of Towns and Villages of Zitny Ostrov (SMOZO) to create a Hungarian self-rule province, Anton Hrnko, a deputy for the Slovak National Party (SNS) told journalists today. His criticism concerned Premier Vladimir Meciar who said on Tuesday [14 December] that he had been aware for a long time of the matter.

The SNS Honorary Chairman Jozef Prokes fears, however, that parliament will vote for the "autonomy" of the ethnic Hungarians in south Slovakia. South Slovakia is largely inhabited by ethnic Hungarians, who in all of Slovakia number some 560,000 or 11 percent of Slovakia's population. "We should stop being stunned by the recommendations of the Council of Europe and always ask about the situation in the European Union," said Prokes who is responsible for Slovakia's activity towards West European institutions in the coalition government.

Carnogursky Comments on Conflict

AU1612201793 Prague CTK in English 1602 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 16 (CTK)—The government policy regarding Slovak-Hungarian relations lacks any concept, while only the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) has a concept of resolving the issue of the ethnic minorities in Slovakia, KDH Chairman Jan Carnogursky told Slovak Parliament today. He stated that the government had not been able to comply with any of the recommendations by the Council of Europe (CE), given to Slovakia before its admission to the CE. If there is no concept, then it is better to keep quiet, Carnogursky said.

"...I fear that Slovakia could become ridiculous because it is not able to resolve the problems of its ethnic minorities, as it cannot afford an effective intervention," Carnogursky added.

He explained the statement by the "Carnogursky's mathematics," which says that a 15-million Czechoslovakia was stronger than the 10-million Hungary. Then the five-million Slovakia is logically weaker than its southern neighbor, which did not lose forces by the division of the state, Carnogursky said.

Mayor Tries To Allay Fears

AU1712121893 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Dec 93 p 3

[Interview with Stefan Pasztor, mayor of Komarno and chairman of the Association of Towns and Communities of Zitny Ostrov, by Frantisek Buda; place and date not given: "'Changing the Borders Is Not on the Agenda'"]

[Text] On Monday [13 December], National Council of the Slovak Republic [NR SR] Chairman Ivan Gasparovic described the situation in South Slovakia as too serious to be simply brushed aside. This was his reaction to the statement issued by the Association of Towns and Communities of Zitny Ostrov Council, which is convening an assembly of elected representatives of the citizens of South Slovakia in Komarno on 8 January 1994. In this connection, we interviewed Stefan Pasztor, mayor of Komarno and chairman of the Zitny Ostrov Association, which initiated the aforementioned assembly.

[Buda] Your Association's appeal to convene an assembly is provoking mixed reactions. People are asking, what does this actually mean?

[Pasztor] Nothing other than what our Association agreed upon on 27 August this year. At that time, one of the members proposed that we convene an assembly of all the ethnic Hungarian deputies from Slovakia. The Association's Council adopted this proposal with the proviso that we do not only call upon Hungarians, but upon everyone serving in South Slovakia, that is, including the Slovak or other ethnic deputies. The assembly will have a single task—to discuss together the problems of the south and, in accordance with our possibilities, reach a united conclusion on resolving them, including the planned territorial division of Slovakia.

[Buda] However, it says in the appeal that a province is to be established in the south with its own self-administration and special legal status, which is regarded as a declaration of Hungarian territorial autonomy.

[Pasztor] The translation of the Hungarian text is neither accurate nor well-formulated. So, let us not talk about a province. The issue is that we do not like everything about the planned new territorial division of Slovakia, for example, the fact that the Komarno and Dunajska Streda Districts—linked by thousand-year-old historical, and contemporary, ties—should be incorporated into two territorial units. From the point of view of the people living in the south, it would be expedient to incorporate this region into one, perhaps two, independent regions stretching not north-south, but west-east, that is, from Bratislava to the Ukrainian border. These regions—like all the others in Slovakia—would be endowed with certain self-administrations, that is, with autonomous powers, for example, they should have their own regional parliament and executive government. In short, we are not in dispute about the forms and tiers of independence for the regions, but about their geographic arrangement.

[Buda] Slovaks, however, are worried that a territory with a predominately Hungarian population will be formed, which—in the end—will lead to South Slovakia's annexation to Hungary.

[Pasztor] That is out of the question, because we are not only inviting Hungarians to the assembly, but also all the

other elected deputies, regardless of their nationality. Apart from this, in any case we are observing—and will observe—the law, which will provide a guarantee that nothing will happen in South Slovakia to the detriment of one or the other side. I must point out that the planned assembly will be held on the basis of the petition law, that is, there is nothing illegal about it. As far as the alleged break from Slovakia is concerned, this claim is false and serves only to mislead people. It is necessary to underline that changing the borders is not on the agenda of any Hungarian political party or movement in Slovakia.

[Buda] Still, we have to ask: In your opinion, should the regions made up predominantly of Hungarians enjoy more privileges than the purely Slovak ones?

[Pasztor] No. Only as many as the others, that is, what is permitted by the Constitution and laws.

[Buda] What will happen if the territorial arrangement put forward by you is not supported in parliament?

[Pasztor] In this case, the matter for us will come to an end and we will respect the valid law. However, at the moment, while no legal amendment is in force, we can—even have to—discuss the issue democratically and then, if possible, influence parliament's final decision.

[Buda] Do you agree with Mr. Gasparovic that the situation in the south is serious?

[Pasztor] Such statements have been made many times in recent years. This always annoys me, and not only me. Those of us who live here always ask why it is serious if life is going on normally and is following its usual course.

[Buda] Your statement and subsequent reactions have, however, aroused anxiety among the people about future developments.

[Pasztor] I think that, in this case, we have attracted more attention than is warranted. At the same time, the people have been misinformed about our intentions. Our appeal and the invitation to the assembly of deputies have been unnecessarily dramatized. It will be necessary to investigate why. In view of the repeated bad experiences with information being leaked to the public, we will issue a communique following each of our sessions. This should ensure that the people of Slovakia—regardless of their nationality—are given real and objective information about the aims of our endeavor.

Duray Defends Project

AU1612150793 Prague CTK in English 2139 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 15 (CTK)—The ethnic Hungarian minority's parliamentary Egyutteles [Coexistence] Movement today dismissed as "inadequate" the negative reaction by Slovak leaders to the plans of representatives of the Hungarian minority to set up a special region in south Slovakia.

President Michal Kovac, Premier Vladimir Meciar, and Parliament Chairman Ivan Gasparovic have condemned the initiative by the Association of Towns and Villages of Zitny Ostrov (SMOZO) to convoke in Komarno, south Slovakia, on January 8 a meeting of local elected officials. The meeting is allegedly to establish a "Hungarian province" and elect a 100-member assembly. Meciar warned on Tuesday [14 December] that this bordered on crime.

"We are sharply protesting against the constitutional officials labelling the convocation of the meeting as anti-constitutional and violating the Slovak Republic's integrity. The right to assembly is one of the fundamental human rights and to challenge would mean to attack the bases of democracy," says the movement's statement given to CTK. It points out that the planned meeting in Komarno is not pointed against Slovakia's integrity, but a reply to the government-proposed new territorial arrangement of the country.

"The government is following the sole goal: To violate and break up the organic continuity of the region in which the Hungarians have a majority, and to prevent them from controlling their own affairs," the statement says. Signed by the movement's chairman, Miklos Duray, the statement says that "representatives of the Hungarian national community have never challenged the territorial integrity of the republic and that their proposals were aimed at strengthening statehood."

Some 560,000 ethnic Hungarians live in Slovakia, constituting 11 percent of its population.

Parties, TV, MTI Sign Election Code of Ethics

LD1512200193 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Representatives of several parties, Hungarian Television and MTI have signed the code of election ethics.

Prior to the signing of the document, Vilmos Meszaros, the chairman of the Independent Lawyers' Forum, which had compiled the code, outlined a letter from Balint Magyar. The SZDSZ campaign chief writes in his letter that his party accepts the intentions and basic principles of the code, however, cannot agree with several points of the text, therefore does not sign it.

Since several parties have had reservations, the two most debated points of the code have been left out of the text. One of them would have regulated the use of party symbols, the other would have banned election propaganda on public transport vehicles.

MDF Official Views Censorship Allegations

AU1712112693 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 16 Dec 93 p 9

[Interview with Ferenc Kulin, parliamentary deputy of the Hungarian Democratic Forum and chairman of the Parliament's Cultural Committee, by Sara Szeli; place and date not given: "Ferenc Kulin On the Freedom of the Hungarian Press"]

[Text] [Szeli] The international press carries not only praising articles in connection with the recently deceased Hungarian prime minister. For example, the dubious campaign in connection with the Hungarian media continues under the mask of the oft-mentioned objectivity. Here is a relevant example from the FINANCIAL TIMES: "Antall's other negative heritage is the national television and radio, which are as strictly controlled today as under the communists." What is your opinion of this?

[Kulin] The most appalling thing for me is that the famous British press also carries inexcusable and unfounded reports. People who know the conditions of the Hungarian press are quite aware of the fact that the aforementioned information is totally unfounded. Today, no chief editor in Hungary receives any orders or advice from the government. All the more so because the cabinet simply does not have the official or informal means of carrying out such manual control. The former communist regime developed censorship to such an extent that a special order emerged in which people working in the media controlled the quality of the material meant for publication themselves. This is the highest form of supervision because, at that time, it was not unusual to bury materials suitable for publication in a desk drawer as a result of the continued self-criticism and declarations of mea culpa.

[Szeli] What is the situation of the public radio and television? Is the freedom of the press also asserted in these institutions?

[Kulin] The radio and the television have a special situation. Rules of the general press freedom apply to the public service media. The law includes certain thematic and methodology requirements.

[Szeli] Is it possible that this special situation is the reason for the misunderstandings, or this situation gives cause to misinterpretations?

[Kulin] Today, the deputy chairmen supervise the implementation of the law on the basis of the nomination law legislated after the change in the regime. All supervision is based on the Constitution and the laws. According to the decision of the Constitutional Court, we can say about the law that it does not allow the government and the parties to interfere in the program policy of the Hungarian Radio and Television in any way whatsoever. This decision includes specific labor rights and other positions.

[Szeli] The news of the recent demonstration of the Democratic Charter reached even the United States. In a television interview, Gyorgy Soros tried to prove the theory of limited press freedom in Hungary by using film clips.

[Kulin] Unfortunately, many foreign correspondents believe the hysterical and loud opinions that have no real basis whatsoever and only intend to raise the public's antipathy toward the Hungarian Government. I can point out that if the cabinet really suppressed the freedom of the press, the often unfounded criticism of the government activity and of the government members would not be able to appear in the Hungarian press, and the representatives of the Hungarian opposition would also be unable to voice their opinion; if censorship were really bigger than during the dictatorship, we would be the country of "only good and nice things."

Walesa Comments on 'Disturbing' Vote in Russia

BR1712122593 Brussels LE SOIR in French 17 Dec 93 p 2

[Interview with Polish President Lech Walesa by Pol Mathil in Warsaw; date not given: "Central European Uncertainty Following Russian Elections"]

[Text] [Mathil] Mr. President, I have just come from Moscow, where one in four Russians voted in favor of an imperial, aggressive, xenophobic Russia, and one in five Russians voted in favor of a return to communism. Zhirinovskiy, the nationalist leader, has proposed a Russian-German alliance at the expense of Poland. How have you been sleeping since Sunday [12 December]?

[Walesa] Very well, thank you. This vote is disturbing, and its importance should not be minimized, but it came as no real surprise to me. Russia has entirely different traditions from our own, and the Russians have an entirely different mentality as well. The most difficult thing is change one's mentality. In Russia, everything has collapsed—both the economy and the ideas. The world, as they say, has been turned upside down. There is no point of reference any more, merely a vacuum.

[Mathil] But why did one-fourth of the Russian electorate opt for an aggressive, antidemocratic, antireformist—in a word, fascist—vision of the future?

[Walesa] The Polish people are more mature, more responsible. However, did they not also send a post-communist majority to Parliament in the elections last September? Everyone is nostalgic about "bygone days" to a certain extent. Our memory loses out when it is confronted with everyday problems. In Russia, the communist past is more ambiguous: Everyone was working, and there was a kind of stability. There was a certain equality, albeit at a miserable level: There was never enough to survive, but just enough not to die. Today, everything is in pieces. Furthermore, let us not forget that the power has vanished, the subordination of others has disappeared.

It was their dream of grandeur. They believed that they had weakened the Poles, Ukrainians, and Baltic peoples, while in reality, above all, they weakened themselves. We emerged from our slavery more easily; the Ukrainians did so with slightly greater difficulty. The Russians have not yet left their drudgery behind at all. It is this nostalgia that is rearing up out of the Russian vacuum.

[Mathil] Has Boris Yeltsin wasted the two years of his administration?

[Walesa] No, that is not it. Yeltsin is a hard man. I know him well. I have had extremely difficult conversations with him. However, in his administration he did not go far enough—or rather not far back enough. When the Soviet Union still existed, I said that the solution was the dissolution of the USSR, i.e., of the entire system. In fact, they should have gone all the way back to zero. What leader, though, would take such a risk lightly? Yeltsin was slowed down or blocked. He beat about the bush, opted for a zigzag path. He thought that he could improve things here or there, bit by bit. That, incidentally, was what lost Gorbachev.

[Mathil] Nevertheless, Yeltsin had the courage to oppose the putschists in 1991. Why did he not succeed in instilling enough hope in democracy among his people to prevent this unfortunate vote?

[Walesa] There are several elements to the answer. The costs of the reforms are extremely high—not only in Russia, by the way. Mr. Zhirinovskiy's demagoguery proved highly effective. The communists, meanwhile, have long-standing experience—in Russia and elsewhere—and knew how to exploit the situation. Power-related errors did the rest.

[Mathil] Firing on parliament also harmed his image.

[Walesa] Undoubtedly, but the problems started earlier and are far from disappearing. At the time, I proposed something that was capable of coming up with solutions. For example, my idea of the alternative NATO or the alternative EC, both of which were decried by my opponents and by you journalists. The aim was to suggest a gradual path of successive thresholds to be crossed with a view to reducing the damage between East and West and creating conditions of stability in Europe. That would have both mapped out a path—toward a market economy—and determined the democratic aspects of the change. Perhaps it might have enabled us to avoid the Yugoslav drama back then.

[Mathil] Since Sunday, has Poland been living in a more dangerous environment than before? Do you not believe that the popularity of nationalistic slogans, some of which are directed against Poland, will have repercussions in Russian foreign policy? Did you convene a meeting of your general staff, for example, to take appropriate measures?

[Walesa] Do not make jokes. Russia is not going to declare war on us! It is not the Poles who should be afraid, it is you—the West. You have no strategy, you only make concessions without obtaining much in return.

[Mathil] Everyone is treated equally in the Atlantic Council and the planned partnership for peace. Why are you not trying to influence NATO to treat Poland differently from, say, Tajikistan?

[Walesa] Who said that we are not trying? We are trying, but nobody is listed as having the numbers that we are calling. I believe that there are two ways of helping Russia. One effectively enhances the power of the Russian state, with all the consequences that this entails. The other way—mine—aims at simultaneously aiding the Central European states so as to use their resources on Russian territory, not against Russia, but to help them. With our products we have no chance on your markets,

but in Russia we do. So help us to help Russia. That would be a good deal all round.

[Mathil] And yet that does not solve the main problem, namely guaranteeing your security.

[Walesa] For the time being, the West has decided to do nothing that might "arouse the bear," and I have serious doubts as to whether the result of the elections—significant as it may be—could change anything whatsoever in the short term. However, in the longer term, the West must take account of the fact that what we have accomplished must be defended. That is of fundamental importance for European unity and for Russia's future within that Europe. We were the first to prove that this model of transformation, without violence or confrontation, is possible. To a certain extent, it is the reverse of the "Yugoslav" method. The best way of preventing the reoccurrence of such a situation is to assure as great a Western presence as possible in Central Europe. That is the price of security in Europe. The price for Russian security is different.

[Mathil] What should Yeltsin do? Is he a dictator in power?

[Walesa] I do not know, but he will have a difficult time with this Parliament.

[Mathil] He is not alone in this situation.

[Walesa] Let us not compare the incomparable. I strongly believe that, if Yeltsin continues with his current policy, despite his Constitution and the tremendous powers that it confers upon him, he will not be able to resolve any of the really serious problems. Under such circumstances, I fear a repetition of the crisis that took place last October. We must ask ourselves this question: What evasive action could Russia then opt for?

[Mathil] Is that why you allude to the flaring up of a new Yugoslavia?

[Walesa] Not necessarily. In Russia the main problem is one of misery.

[Mathil] Not nationalism?

[Walesa] It all belongs together. It is difficult to separate. The question is different. The West won the Cold War and swept aside the great danger of communism. However, it has not succeeded in establishing stability, and is continuing to refuse to make a choice. I understand the difficulties of the new U.S. Government, but I cannot understand why, instead of cashing in on this victory, enlarging the area of guaranteed liberty, reinforcing the impact of democratic ideas, imposing its values—in short, making us welcome and itself expanding into Central Europe—the West is hesitating, rebuffing or rejecting deadlines, and wasting time, just like NATO.

What interest can we possibly have in latching on to the idea of a partnership for peace if this idea is leading us nowhere? We might even desist from participating in this partnership if it does not open up the way for entry into NATO if, worse still, it was paving the way for a new division of the world. The West fears that we will ask it to give us money. That is not true, we are ready to cover the costs.

[Mathil] Is it really a question of money? Is it not rather a question of political decisionmaking, and of avoiding the risk of commitment at your side?

[Walesa] What risk do you mean? The West thinks that we will ask it for generals. Yes, that is true, but not the generals that the West has in mind. What we want are the generals of General Motors. However, General Motors will not come if there are no guarantees of stability signed by NATO. I am a peasant by descent: I know that seeds have to be sown before you can gather in the harvest. I am also a mechanic, and I know that you must not put a tractor wheel on a Mercedes. However, I do not know how to square the circle.

Lithuanian, Polish Parliamentarians Meet

LD1612225793 Warsaw PAP in English 1925 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 16—Situation in Russia, problems of Polish minority in Lithuania and issues connected with the Polish-Lithuanian treaty dominated Thursday's meetings of Lithuanian parliamentarians with their Polish counterparts and with Deputy Prime Minister Aleksander Luczak.

Speakers of the Polish and Lithuanian lower chambers of parliament Jozef Oleksy and Ceslovas Jursenas expressed concern over the situation in Russia and its consequences.

Oleksy stressed the importance of the visit, adding that "this is the first visit to Poland by speaker of Lithuanian parliament in 202 years."

"Our countries follow the same road, the road of reforms to the integration with Europe," Oleksy said.

"There have not been ethnic conflicts in Lithuania recently," Jursenas told members of the presidium of the Sejm committee for contacts with Poles living abroad. Head of the committee Leszek Moczulski proposed to organize a conference of Polish organizations in Lithuania and Lithuanian organizations in Poland so that they could jointly define the rights of their minorities.

The Lithuanian delegation maintained that after the first unpopular decisions of the Lithuanian authorities, the situation of Polish minority in Lithuania normalized.

Later in the day the Lithuanian delegation met with Deputy Prime Minister Aleksander Luczak. According to the two sides, the signing of the Polish-Lithuanian treaty would solve many problems in Polish- Lithuanian

relations. Luczak told journalists that Polish diplomatic services would reconsider solutions proposed by the Lithuanian side.

Broadcasting Council Rejects Censure

LD1612185193 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1105 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Report by Stanislaw Prygon]

[Text] The National Radio and Television Broadcasting Council has rejected censure against it by Minister Andrzej Drzycimski, the president's press spokesman.

At a news conference Maciej Ilowiecki read out a statement by the Council, in which it rejects the Belweder's censure point by point.

It is not true that the Council did not want to keep in touch with the president. It did, although it was not its duty. Moreover, all efforts to meet the president had been in vain.

The Council was dealing with everything it should in accordance with its statute, including the granting of franchises. Reproach by Minister Drzycimski that the Council has been negligent in this matter is untrue. According to the Council, granting of franchises has to take some time.

It is also untrue that the Council tolerated piracy. When the Council was set up, pirate stations were already broadcasting. We began our work in certain conditions, the statement says.

In the conclusion of the statement we read that the Council is performing its statutory duties and it will present a report on its activity in due course.

It has been a long time since so many journalists attended a press conference by the Radio and Television Broadcasting Council. Their expectations were somewhat relieved by [Council Member] Marek Siwiec who joked at the outset of the conference that a military council for the salvation of the national radio and television broadcasting council has been set up.

Sejm Passes Amendments to Law on Taxes

LD1612164093 Warsaw PAP in English 1618 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 16—The Sejm on Thursday passed the urgent government-proposed amendments to the tax law with 250 votes in favour, 107 against, and 39 abstentions.

The house also passed two out of 17 minority motions. The first grants tax relieves to parents whose children are attending private schools and the second exempts the church from tax on money collected during the service.

The Sejm also adopted another amendment to the law on the right to joint taxation under which persons whose income exceeds 181.6 million zlotys (USD 8,647) will have to pay 30 per cent tax.

The Sejm resolved that the total deductible sum will reach 1,212,000 zlotys next year.

The house decided to introduce a fixed income tax for small firms whose income in the previous fiscal year did not exceed 1.2 million zlotys.

According to the amendment to the law on joint venture companies, these companies must start their activity (make out the first invoice) by March 31, 1994, otherwise they lose the right to tax exemptions.

The Sejm resolved that financial offices which fail to return overpayments in three months will have to pay interest.

Release of Imprisoned Hungarians Demanded

AU1612212693 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] According to a report of a correspondent of Targu Mures Radio, yesterday the Odorheiu Secuiesc branch of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] and the free trade unions of that town organized a rally requesting the release from prison of the ethnic Hungarians from the localities Zetea, Dealu, and Targu Mures, who—according to the speeches held during the rally—were unjustly sentenced after the events of December 1989 and March 1990.

The organizers held this protest action precisely during these days to emphasize the similarity between the situation of these prisoners and that of the innocent prisoners held in Tiraspol, whose release they also demanded.

During the rally they read out letters of support signed by Bishop Laszlo Tokes, organizations of the Hungarian diaspora, and the Miercurea Ciuc and Targu Secuiesc branches of the UDMR.

Iliescu Sends Message on Timisoara Anniversary

AU1612075093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1847 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/12/1993—Romanian President Ion Iliescu sent a message to Timisoara City in marking four years since the sparking of Romanian revolution of December 1989.

"The victory of the Romanian revolution of December 1989 was possible first of all thanks to Timisoara, that kindled the torch of the fight for freedom, setting an example of heroism and sacrifice to the whole nation which joined it without delay", reads President Ion Iliescu's message to Timisoara people.

"The Romanian revolution occurred in the then historical context. It did not come out of the blue or as a result of local incidents, as subsequent speculations put it. The atmosphere in the country was extremely tense: the profoundly anti popular regime, stuck in its own mechanisms, obsolete and unbearable. The tension was just waiting for the spark. After a week of fire, Romania completed—as spectacularly and radically as tragically—the process of elimination of the communist regimes grafted in Central and Eastern Europe by the Stalinist Soviet system." Stressing that even now, four years after that, "fancy interpretations of those historic moments, 'scenarios' and 'coups d'etat' and 'confiscation of the revolution' keep being hinted at", Romania's president assessed that these "rather speak of the intention some have to take advantage for themselves of the results of the revolution in which they have no contribution whatsoever."

"The wide scope of the changes that followed after the dramatic events of December 1989 confirmed their revolutionary character", President Iliescu added. "The four years elapsed since have been marked by substantive political, social and economic changes, deriving from our firm option for establishing democracy and a passage to the market economy. The institutions of the state of law, the organizations of civil society have been set up and are being consolidated. The economy is going through deep changes, through complex processes: restructuring, privatization, application of the new regulations in the financial-banking relations. As a recognition of the progress marked, Romania has become full member of the Council of Europe. We have achieved the association with the European Community and the European Free Trade Association, the reinstatement of the most-favored-nation treatment in the bilateral relations with the United States, partnership relations with the NATO countries and the Western European Union, and a new agreement with the International Monetary Fund. The active role in international life, in the United Nations bodies, the expansion of the relations with other states have taken Romania out of its isolation of prior to 1989."

Stressing that "the process of transition to a new society is difficult and long, especially in the economic domain, more difficult and longer than we thought it to be four years ago, when we most enthusiastically decided to give new prospect to our history", President Iliescu assessed that for all difficulties, "nothing can question the rightness of the revolutionary act of December 22, 1989."

President Iliescu concluded by urging to "wisdom and the power to understand and overcome the obstacles encountered on such a road, to consolidate and take advantage of what we have achieved so far, of avoiding the repetition of past errors. We have to regain the atmosphere of social and national solidarity, the optimism, courage and staunchness that set in motion heroic Timisoara and then the whole country up to the triumph of the revolution".

Trade Union Leaders Warn of Jan Protests

AU1612195593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1817 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 16/12/1993—A union rally was staged by the Cartel Alfa trade union confederation in Timisoara, the city in western Romania where the Romanian revolution started in December 1989. It was participated in by representatives of big union confederations and student organizations.

"We are here to demand the Vacaroiu government's resignation," said in opening the rally the president of the Timisoara federation of Cartel Alfa, adding that the rally "is also meant to commemorate the martyr heroes of Timisoara."

The leaders of the other trade union federations present in the rally criticized the country's current economic and social situation, blaming the Vacaroiu government for the collapse of the national economy and demanding its

resignation. They spoke up for a coalition government that should rely upon a political pact, a government apt to lead the country out of the crisis. It was said that the Timisoara rally was organized also in order to sensitize Romania's Parliament due to debate tomorrow, December 17, the no-confidence motion submitted by the opposition against the Vacaroiu government. If the no-confidence motion does not pass in parliament, the union leaders said, the trade unions would continue in January the actions for starting an all-out strike.

The union rally was followed by a rally commemorating the martyr heroes.

A memorial was unveiled in front of the hotel Continental in Timisoara to the city's heroes.

Bucharest Rally Ends; Protest at Russian Embassy

AU1612200193 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Today beginning with 1500 in University Square in Bucharest a rally was organized by the major trade union confederations, the revolution fighters and students' organizations, the Civic Alliance, and the Association of Former Political Prisoners of Romania. [passage omitted]

After the conclusion of the rally the participants went to the building of the embassy of the Russian Federation to Bucharest to protest the unjust sentence passed in Tiraspol and the stances adopted by the Russian authorities related to that issue.

Both during the march to the Russian embassy and the rally held in front of its building the participants continued chanting slogans, after which they announced that tomorrow they will be present in front of parliament headquarters to support the censure motion that will be submitted during the joint session of the two parliament chambers.

Police Deny Incidents at Timisoara Rally

AU1612204493 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] A fax sent to us by the press office of the Police General Inspectorate informs public opinion that today's rallies in Timisoara and in other towns of the country have taken place in an orderly way and without any incidents.

The information was released to deny certain rumors claiming that incidents have taken place today in Timisoara municipality.

Government Reshuffle Expected After Holidays

AU1612141093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1214 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 16/12/1993—A government reshuffle may be made in the next weeks, say political commentators interpreting the meetings and contacts held these days by the ruling party with the parties in the government coalition and with those in the opposition. Ioan Solcanu, deputy chairman of the ruling Party of Social Democracy [PDSR], presented at a December 14 news conference four possible governing alliances, the likeliest of which is that between the PDSR and the Romanians' National Unity Party [PUNR], that supports at present the ruling party. The second variant would be that of an "executive" alliance between the PDSR and the Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party [PNTCD], in opposition now, and which asks that the Greater Romania Party [PRM], and the Socialist Party of Labour (PSM), thought to be far at the left, be kept away from governing. The third variant would be that of a PDSR-PUNR-PNTCD alliance, the fourth involves the Liberal Party '93 (PL'93), that showed willingness to govern.

Solcanu rules out only one variant, i.e. an alliance with the Democratic Party [PD(FSN)]. The National Salvation Front [FSN], that ruled the country between may 1990 and September 1991, split after Petre Roman's demise from the prime minister office in September 1991, into the PDSR and the PD(FSN).

The PUNR parliamentary group met on December 15 at night with members of the government's executive bureau, Premier Vacaroiu included. The meeting was centered on "the clarification of aspects related to the efficiency of the application of the governing programme on a social and economic plane," reads a communique released by the bureau of the PUNR National Council. PUNR Deputy Chairman Ioan Gavra told the press at the close of the meeting that "December 16 is the last day we have given the government to come with concrete proposals for a government reshuffle." Gavra added that a serious reshuffle had to be made at the level of the ministries of transport, industries, tourism, agriculture and commerce. Two ministries may be set up, one for resources and mining, at the request of the PUNR and the unions, and the other of privatisation, to subordinate the state ownership fund. Ioan Gavra told the press that the PUNR had drawn attention to the government that "the private ownership fund numbers too many PD(FSN) representatives and that the PDSR has taken the state ownership fund in its grip." The PUNR has asked the ruling party to keep the PD(FSN) and the PL '93, that "have put their political stamp on previous governments" out of the government formula, reads the PUNR communique.

Political analysts have widely commented on the participation of Premier Vacaroiu and a few members of his government in sittings of the PRM and PSM, and opined that either the executive was keen on cultivating these

relations as it was afraid of the censure motion called by the opposition, or that an alliance is possible with these parties.

As for an alliance with the PNTCD, Solcanu said that negotiations were in an incipient stage, being conducted through envoys.

Political commentators expect the government to reshuffle after the winter holidays, during the parliamentary recess, that will end on February 1, 1994.

Former Officials Accused of 'Abuse of Function'

AU1712120493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0911 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/12/1993—The premier's auditors made a third intimation to the General Prosecution against personalities in the Roman's [leader of the Democratic Party-National Salvation Front] government. Petre Roman, Adrian Severin, Rada Istrate, Bujor Bogdan Teodoriu, Adrian Sirbu, Coriolan Babeti and Gheorghe Nicolescu, former secretaries and under secretaries of state, and Ion Sofroniciu, former prefect of the County of Brasov, are charged with abuse of function, forgery and use of forgery, false reports and cheating, that have been prejudicial for public property.

Petre Roman, Adrian Severin, and Adrian Sirbu—prosperous businessman and press manager at present—are accused of having concluded fraudulent contracts in 1990 with insignificant firms hired to lobby in the United States for a shift in the way Romania was perceived there. The two are paid 275,000 dollars although they did not carry out any action. One of this firms was paid high sums to "assist the Romanian Government for its admission to GATT," an organization Romania has been member of since 1971.

The three are charged with forgery for getting lodgings, land etc. and the former prefect of Brasov is accused of having facilitated tennis manager Ion Tiriac's access to getting land in the Poiana Brasov mountain resort.

Holiday Cease-Fire Agreement Signed in Kiseljak

LD1612185393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] A report just received states that Generals Ante Roso and Rasim Delic, in the presence of General Briquemont, signed a cease-fire agreement in Kiseljak for the period 23 December to 3 January. They also agreed that the White Path humanitarian aid convoy for Nova Bila and central Bosnia will be allowed to pass through to [place-name indistinct], between Gornji Vakuf and Novi Travnik, where it will be inspected by the Muslim Army.

Krajisnik, Silajdzic Hold Talks at Airport

LD1612182293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Sarajevo, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the people's assembly of the republic of Srpska, and Haris Silajdzic, the prime minister of the Muslim government, met at Sarajevo airport today. Momcilo Krajisnik's office announced that the meeting passed in a constructive atmosphere. Both sides submitted reports on their activities and voiced mutual accusations. The Muslim side accused the Serbs of shelling Sarajevo, but assembly president Momcilo Krajisnik pointed out that the Muslims were shelling Serbian territories.

The Muslim side's stance is that they would accept the signing of the plan if their demands for territorial concessions are accepted, which gave rise to some optimism concerning a possible end to the war and a final solution. The Serbian side reiterated its stand that it could not make any concessions in eastern and western Bosnia along the rivers Drina and Una.

The Serbs are demanding the division of Sarajevo as a precondition for peace, while the Muslims insist on the solution envisaging a two-year UN protectorate over Sarajevo.

At Krajisnik's request, a joint stand was adopted to define the ways for the Serbs to leave the Muslim part of former Bosnia-Herzegovina. It was also agreed that another meeting, at which larger delegations will try to find a final solution, be held before the Geneva conference.

Silajdzic Comments on Talks

AU1612210293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Interview with Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by Sarajevo Television reporter Raska Danjalic in Sarajevo on 16 December—recorded]

[Text] [Danjalic] Dr. Silajdzic, you held talks today at the airport with the Serbian representatives. What did you talk about?

[Silajdzic] We first discussed the shelling. As you can hear, the shells are still coming down. We asked them what the purpose of the shelling was if we are supposed to be talking about peace. It is known that this kind of pressure cannot produce any results, except to kill people. The Serbian side responded in kind, that is, they protested against our shelling, their hospitals are also full, and so on. I am afraid, and the result is plain to see, that we have not reached any agreement on that issue, and as we can see the shelling of Sarajevo is continuing. This, in any case, will not make negotiations any easier, it will make them more difficult.

As you know, we refused to attend talks yesterday because of this, because of the shelling. Today we held the talks in the hope that we could prevent the killing of innocent people. Time will show what can be achieved on this.

The talks were mostly concentrated on political issues, that is, territorial issues. I can tell you briefly what this was all about. That part of the talks was held, I can say, in an improved atmosphere. However, even though we can see that some work is being done toward satisfying the demands set by the EU, the demands for 33.3 percent of the territory, we still see that the Serbian side is persistently rejecting the demand when it comes to eastern Bosnia and Krajina, that is, western Bosnia. There is no progress there and that is a fact.

As for Sarajevo, we insist on the offered solution of the UN administration of Sarajevo for a certain period, while the Serbian side insists on its demand of forming two cities, meaning the formation of another Sarajevo apart from this Sarajevo, a so-called Serb Sarajevo.

We have reached agreement on some things. First of all we have confirmed that both sides intend to observe the agreement on allowing convoys through, which is of course significant. We have confirmed that talks would continue on humanitarian issues, the question of electricity, natural gas, and so on, on the exchange of prisoners, the evacuation of the wounded, and finally we agreed that both sides should hold talks before the plenary session in Geneva. That is briefly what we talked about today at the airport.

[Danjalic] Several days ago you said that you were not very optimistic about Geneva. Has this meeting today changed anything?

[Silajdzic] I can tell you that I am not a great pessimist at the moment.

[Danjalic] A UNHCR delegation has just come out of your cabinet. Our viewers are probably interested in what you talked to them about.

[Silajdzic] Mr. (Andrekov), who is the representative of the International Red Cross in Bosnia-Herzegovina, insisted on guarantees for the security of the Red Cross personnel in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Yesterday they were transporting prisoners from Gabela who were released

by the Croats and went to the left side of Mostar—out of 627 people, I think about 500, that is, 400 came over to the left side, while about 100 of them expressed the wish to go to a third country—anyway, while they were being transported, sniper fire was opened on the Red Cross trucks, and since the Red Cross drivers have no protection, Mr. (Kolomb) demanded that our side also give guarantees—even though we have always done so—for the absolute security of the Red Cross personnel, who, as he said, were working in the interests of the people. He could see no reason, he said, for anyone to fire at the Red Cross personnel and vehicles. We immediately took all necessary measures to investigate this incident, even though we are convinced that there is no one on the left side of Mostar who would shoot at people coming to the left side of Mostar. There is no logic in it. Still, we have taken all the necessary measures.

Of course, we also discussed the passage of the convoys, the Red Cross humanitarian convoys. It is absolutely clear that our side, the Bosnia-Herzegovina side, has no reason to stop the convoys. All the reports maintain that the aggressor's side is doing that. Therefore, this issue is completely clear.

We also discussed that issue in the presence of the chairman of the state commission for the exchange of prisoners. That is a very difficult problem, something that is moving very slowly, but we are hoping that some progress will be made after the meeting on Monday [20 December] between the representatives of the two sides, and with the participation of the representatives of the International Red Cross.

[Danjalic] Thank you very much.

[Silajdzic] Thank you.

Krajisnik Feels 'More Optimism'

LD1612234393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2138 GMT 16 Dec 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Sarajevo, Dec 16 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb parliament Speaker Momcilo Krajisnik returned from his talk on Thursday [16 December] with Bosnian Muslim Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic with more optimism about the chances of a speedy end to civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and a final settlement of the Bosnian crisis. The position of the Muslim side is that they would accept a peace plan for Bosnia if their demand for more territory is met, said a statement released by Krajisnik's office after the meeting at Sarajevo Airport.

At the meeting which was held in a constructive atmosphere, the two sides exchanged both information and accusations. The Muslim side alleged that the Serbs were shelling Sarajevo, to which Krajisnik responded by accusing the Muslims of shelling Serb territory. The Serb side reiterated its position that there can be no concessions in eastern and western Bosnia—along the Drina and the Una. The Serbs insist on Sarajevo being divided into two cities, one each for the two communities, whereas the Muslims want it to remain a single city and be placed under U.N. patronage for a period of two years. At Krajisnik's insistence, the two sides were bound to specify the exact procedure for the Serbs' departure from territories under Muslim control.

The two delegations also agreed to meet one more time before the Bosnia peace talks resume in Geneva on December 21, to resolve questions outstanding. Invitations to the Geneva meeting have been extended to the leaders of the three Bosnian warring sides, the presidents of Serbia and Montenegro (which make up the new Yugoslavia) and the president of Croatia. The negotiators are due to move to Brussels on December 22 for talks with the foreign ministers of the European Union nations.

Abdic Deems Izetbegovic Policy 'Hypocritical'

AU1612170493 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 15 Dec 93 p 5

[Report by Milena Markovic: "The People Are Victims of Politics"]

[Text] Two and a half months ago, when the autonomous province of western Bosnia was proclaimed and, immediately after that, a peace declaration signed in Belgrade and Zagreb, there were still some reservations among the public on the possibility of the signed peace being final. However, it was confirmed that when true peacemakers negotiate—agreements are respected. This is what Fikret Abdic, president of the autonomous province of western Bosnia, says about this matter:

"I have always said that in these regions, peace has no alternative. The past 20 months of war have confirmed that the Muslim people are suffering the greatest casualties. The people who claim that war is the only solution and in fact represent the stand of the Muslim leadership headed by Alija Izetbegovic, are simply talking nonsense. In the opinion of such leadership, the war should be prolonged as much as possible and, irrespective of losses, filled up with nonsense and phrases that lead to collective insanity. The kind of state Izetbegovic prefers is full of such sufferers—scared to death—and of ruined people. Citizens of the autonomous province of western Bosnia have realized in time that such a concept is not in their interest. They have realized that peace, not war, is the solution. Given a choice between life and death, they have chosen life."

Commenting on the latest Geneva negotiations, Fikret Abdic, president of the autonomous province of western Bosnia, says that "there is no doubt that we can primarily thank Izetbegovic for the crisis in these negotiations." According to Abdic, one can be sure in advance that any peace negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina will be marked with new ultimatums and by dodging an

already signed agreement. In Abdic's opinion, any peace agreement that has been signed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia since the beginning of the war, has led the Muslims into an ever worse position, and at the same time, Izetbegovic failed to agree to a single proposal offered.

"Mainly because of a hypocritical and murderous attitude toward his own people, Alija Izetbegovic's policy has lost the race," Abdic says, "although Izetbegovic enjoyed respect on the international scene at the beginning. Now it is clear to everybody that it is also thanks to Izetbegovic's policy that the Muslim people are in fact the victim. Alija's supporters are ever fewer even in those parts of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina under the control of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The greatest discontent reigns among the ranks of the suffering Sarajevo people whose resistance to such a policy is expressed by the following slogan: 'You should sign, Alija, even for a territory the size of a backyard.' However, the torture that local potentates are perpetrating in Sarajevo is smothering any voice of resistance, any different opinion."

Forced mobilization, taking people away to dig trenches, the repressive methods of intimidation and isolation have brought the Sarajevo people to the verge of endurance, Abdic points out. I think, he says, that if Izetbegovic continues to negotiate on behalf of the Muslims, this is going to have a fatal impact on our people. The international community has seen through his games and there will be no more concessions.

"There is no doubt that Izetbegovic talked with Karadzic about the division of Sarajevo in Geneva recently," Abdic says. "He even agreed to the division of the city, but when he saw that the Muslims do not particularly approve of that idea, he ordered his propaganda team to deny Karadzic's statement."

Recalling the many charges against his own policy, mainly from the ranks of Izetbegovic's supporters, Abdic pointed out that Alija and his people have already made some agreements similar to the ones he [Abdic] had made, but such agreements have had no results. The signing of separate agreements with the Serbian and the Croatian sides about establishing a lasting peace has in fact shown that peace is possible, and this, Abdic said, is an enviable result that even the international community has failed to reach.

[Box 1, p 5]

Rumors

"The most impudent lies have been bandied about recently on the convoys arriving in western Bosnia via the republic of Srpska," Fikret Abdic said. "These convoys mean a lot to our people. All these rumors and lies have been belied by the facts and I am convinced that no future lies will be able to keep the Muslim people in other parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the illusion that we are traitors only because we want peace with all peoples."

Accuses Army of 'Fanaticism'

LD1612174493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1028 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 16 (TANJUG)—President of the autonomous province of west Bosnia (APZB), Muslim politician Fikret Abdic has said that roughly 2,000 Mujahedin, including foreign mercenaries and extremists from the Raska (Sandzak) region in Serbia, are fighting together with troops loyal to fundamentalist Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic. The Mujahedin from Islamic countries and Muslims from Raska are known as the most militant members of Izetbegovic's forces.

The Mujahedin "find their image in religious fanaticism and extremism," and "wish with such behaviour to create a new type of a Muslim, one who is not like our Bosnian Muslim but is a man who believes that he can survive on this territory with extremist views and the application of Islamic laws," Abdic said in an interview published in the first issue of the newspaper ZAPADNA BOSNA, published in the Croatian capital of Zagreb.

The Muslim population in the north-western part of the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in early October proclaimed the APZB, rejecting Izetbegovic's war option and urging a peaceful resolution of the conflict. The APZB has signed separate peace accords with the Bosnian Serbs and the Bosnian Croats.

Abdic said that the current commander of Izetbegovic's troops in the APZB (5th Corps), Atif Dudakovic, had himself killed a mother with a child on Johovica Hill, which he said could be seen on a tape filmed by a TV crew. 'Is not the character of the 5th Corps' number one man a good enough illustration of the 5th Corps' commitments and the policy whose orders it is carrying out,' Abdic said.

Inter-Muslim clashes broke out after Izetbegovic ordered his troops to suppress the territorial and political autonomy of Muslims in the APZB.

Imam Ferhad Mujkic of Velika Kladusa, the centre of the APZB, has drawn the attention of Izetbegovic's Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic to the fact that 5th Corps members are terrorizing the APZB population in horrible ways.

Izetbegovic's troops, whose chief stronghold in the APZB is the town of Bihac, are sending terrorist-commando groups to villages held by Abdic's forces to plunder and rape women, even girls aged 15, Mujkic said in the letter sent to Silajdzic, with whom the Imam had attended the Moslem religious secondary school in Sarajevo.

Izetbegovic Addresses Army Soldiers

LD1612114193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Speech by President Alija Izetbegovic to soldiers of the 2d Mountain Brigade of the 1st Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] It has been suggested that I address you as officers, but I will address you as dear soldiers, I hope you do not mind. The greatest honor today is to be a soldier of the people, this is our greatest honor. I would personally feel the most honored if someone considered me to be a soldier of the people and a soldier of this army. You probably do not know—people tend to know least about themselves, and what they know is often erroneous—how our army is seen by the world. I hope you will not become conceited about what I am going to tell you. It is a great honor to be a member of our army.

Many of you do not know that we shocked the world twice already: the first time was when we proved how resilient we were, when they saw how successful our resistance was. They expected us to be overrun in 20 days. The documents at our disposal show that this action had been planned to last two-three weeks. If I am not mistaken, this is the 21st month that we have been resisting successfully. Not only are we resisting successfully but we are growing by the day. Of course, we must not underestimate our enemy [word indistinct]; he has great problems but he is still powerful. If we take a look at trends—his military might and our military might—we will notice that, although undeniably powerful, he is weaker by the day. Although we were once weaker, are growing stronger every day.

Therefore, it is a great honor to be a soldier of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. This army is considered to be a small miracle by today's world. Foreigners often ask me how we manage to mount resistance. I feel their desire to meet you, like I am doing today, or when I visited Bosnia recently, and to meet you in person, to understand in some way the secrets of our resistance. Of course, we ask ourselves where the secrets lie. First of all, they lie in people's feeling that they are fighting for a just cause, for freedom and, perhaps most importantly, that they are fighting for the survival, for the bare survival of a nation. You see, this is not an ordinary war. What they wanted to do to us was not an ordinary occupation, but an attempt to destroy a state so that it will never exist again, and to exterminate a nation so that it will not exist ever again. This was not an attempted occupation.

Recently, and a long time ago too, many people said: Do not sign anything, do not conduct negotiations, do not make any kind of peace. Eventually, if you cannot stand the pressure, do what Poland did in World War II. The Baltic states are also cited as an example, as well as France, the Netherlands, and Belgium which were under occupation, but because they never put their signature on anything they were resurrected after victory.

I say that we must conduct negotiations because there is one essential difference—this would not be an ordinary occupation. This is what makes this war specific, without precedent, and beyond comparison in history. This occupation means the destruction of the state and the destruction of the nation. I think that the people's instinct makes them capable of true minor miracles in the army. You see, this war has revealed some strange things. Occasionally you see a hero, but when you look into his past, into his life, you see that he was an ordinary man—a book-keeper or a locksmith, and so on. The war reveals what he really is.

What has taken place is that many people, ordinary middle-class people, whom you never expected to come up with anything exceptional, with anything apart from being workers in their workshop, or sitting at some office desk, or simply being good parents, have become heroes. Let us remember Ramiz [names indistinct].

Had it not been for the war they would have remained totally unknown. This war has made us realize how much true greatness there is in some ordinary—so-called ordinary—people. Unfortunately, the war has revealed the other side, how mean some people are, those loud mouths, those ringleaders, those who bang the table with their fist, who like grand slogans and grand words. A considerable number of them, I know this well, fled when the going got tough. However, these young people stood up to defend their people.

Let me reflect briefly upon courage. Those who say they are not afraid are liars. There are people who say they have no fear. If there are such people they are not normal people. We are, however, an army made up of normal people. Courage is not about being fearless, there are no such people. Courage is about being capable, about being driven by such motives that make you overcome your fear when facing danger. Every man, naturally, fears death. Every animal, every human being fears death.

This is perhaps an occasion for me to tell you something about this—our motives have to be stronger than this [words indistinct]. The other day I was struck by some kind of defiance; they had been shelling us for four days in a row, and a woman asked me as I was walking past: Why on earth are you walking here, get lost. I replied: I have a private reason to walk. It was just this feeling of defiance, I wanted to take a stroll through the city. Thank God, nothing happened to me although four shells landed nearby as we were walking at a distance, of 100, 200, 300 meters. I want to say that on that day my motive was this kind of defiance. I was fed up and I wanted to get out.

What I want to say to you is that all of us in Sarajevo, we have in some way—well, you can see it for yourselves, bombs are falling. The writer (Katic) said that it has developed into a kind of Sarajevo roulette: We set off for the town, [word indistinct] people and we to pursue our jobs, our obligations, our duties, ordinary people to fetch water or buy bread, and we have become used to that.

But the war cameramen—I stress war cameramen, they are not ordinary ones—they have no courage to sit in a car to get to the presidency to conduct the talk. [as heard]

In other words, something strange has been happening and [word indistinct] and these people—and I can observe it from a distance when in Geneva or the United States—look at me in a strange way and are amazed that I have arrived alive and want to know how and what is happening over there [in Sarajevo]. In other words, I have become used to the shock, which Europe experienced, that initial shock. They expected the issue of Bosnia to be resolved in three to four weeks and after (?a month or two it will be all resolved). And when that man [Conference on Yugoslavia Chairman] Carrington—if you still remember him, a lord—came, he said to me: Mr. president—this is after a round of negotiations of about one to two hours, when he saw that we were not going to give in—he said: Well, what are your plans? I said: Well, we will fight. He said, well, how are you going to fight? Do you know who you are dealing with? And then he went on to list, to say, well, perhaps you are not aware what their weapons stocks are, and then he went on to give the figures. I said, my lord, we know that better than you.

That is what the initial shock that Europe experienced was all about. A small nation, from Bosnia-Herzegovina—I must say here from Bosnia-Herzegovina since it is not only the Bosniaks [Muslims], a considerable number of Serbs and Croats are fighting on our side, and I wish to say that we, who in a way are a non-minority nation—I mean in the army as well—we have to appreciate [word indistinct] Serbs and Croats [words indistinct] who remain to fight together with us and we must therefore treat them as exceptions, honorable exceptions. We must appreciate that. In other words, the Bosnia-Herzegovina people, including all citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina, have offered the kind of resistance that was not expected.

Europe experienced the second shock at a slightly later stage. In contrast to what they expected—when it comes to, how shall I put it [word indistinct], some kind of culture, wartime laws—because war itself is not total savagery or at least it has not been over the past 1,000 years.

Some rules of war were introduced a long time ago. [words indistinct] and if you know a little bit about history you know that if someone waved a white flag he would not be killed, not even by savages; whereas in our war almost every rule has been violated—by their side, though, not by ours. This is Europe's second shock. It expected that, if it was to be anyone, it was going to be precisely the Bosnians who were going to destroy churches, mosques, bridges, and cultural monuments, and kill children and women because that is what it had been taught for a long time. It used to read books saying that we are a rather wild lot, that our roots are partly in the East—Asians of sorts. It has turned out that precisely those whom Europe expected to be civilized are the ones who have been killing children and women, those of their origin; peoples of European origin, parts of Europe's civilization. It is they who have been destroying mosques and bridges and killing the infirm. We have not been doing this. This is something Europe cannot possibly explain yet.

I can tell you that sometimes when I go abroad I take double pride in the fact that I belong to a people who have demonstrated exceptional resilience and the strength to resist, an inexplicable kind of strength. It is explicable to us. We know that this is a question of survival. The other half of my pride derives from the fact that our reputation has not been tarnished. This is an important thing. This is the first message I want to convey to you on this occasion. There are one or two yet to come.

Strive to keep our reputation untarnished. I used to [words indistinct]. This is why I am citing this [words indistinct]. This is what is really happening. History is repeating this scene in an ugly way. You have Chetniks and Ustashas again. There is a third army again. I can tell you, these Chetniks are worse than their predecessors. I remember that war. I was 16 when the war began here. I was 20 when it ended so you can assume that I remember well what went on. Then the Chetniks took control of Foca but they did not destroy [word indistinct]. These modern ones have torn it down. The Ustashas ruled Mostar but apart from some minor damage as a result of combat and apart from some families who strongly supported the partisans, everyone, including the Serbs, survived in Mostar. Tens of thousands of Serbs survived four years of Ustasha rule.

This year neither (?the Serbs) nor the Muslims succeeded in surviving in Mostar. Mosques have been destroyed, the bridge has been destroyed, etc. In other words, we are again faced with both the Chetniks and the Ustasha but in a worse version than before.

And there is the third army. I have told our soldiers: Be like the partisans in some way. I was reproached. I was told: Mr. president, do not say that, there are some sensitive people among us and the partisans advocated communism. And I remember that war well. Partisans did not talk about communism a great deal while the war was still on. To tell you the truth, they never even referred to it except perhaps in inner circles within party organizations. In general, the army did not speak about it and the people even less. They talked about the liberation war and, what is even more important and why I am citing this as an example, the partisans were known as an army that did not kill [word indistinct].

History did not begin with either us or them but, thank God, the history of Bosnia began 1,000 years ago, or shall I say 1,500 years ago. And we must not now say: Nothing was good before. The other day we celebrated, or rather marked—I do not know if I can say celebrated—the anniversary of ZAVNOBIH [Anti-Fascist Council for National Liberation of Bosnia-Herzegovina during

World War II]. And why not? Some people objected to this. They want all that to be erased, deleted from our memory. As you know, there were people in photographs—you know, when a person falls from grace the photograph is retouched to obliterate him. We will put him back in, we will revive those times. [Word indistinct] we will be a democratic country. We will describe as good that which was good in the past. We will also say that there was an absence of the rule of law, and that human rights violations in evidence during the past regime were not good and that is why that regime ended in a fiasco both here, in Russia, in Romania, in Poland, etc. It was all down to human rights.

However, what was good about them and should serve as an example is the fact that when they came—and the people knew that, the people do not like to philosophize a great deal, ordinary people like to simplify things—when the Chetniks approached, the people had to flee; when the Ustashas approached, the people had to flee. But, if the partisans approached, the people did not flee. Why? Because they were known as the army that did not kill women and children. They were cruel and brutal toward the enemy at times but when it came to women and children they did not touch them. And what I want to say is: that is why they won.

Remember, they had no other chance here. For instance, the king was a deity in the eyes of the Serbs but the partisans nevertheless succeeded in winning.

And in addition to that they received great assistance from the Germans; they were very well armed. The partisans had nothing, like us. They had to capture weapons and make them in improvised factories. Believe me when I tell you why they won. You can believe me because you know that for other reasons I did not like the partisans very much. They locked me up later, and so on. But you have to believe one thing. They won because they had one thing: they did not [words indistinct]. We cannot win if we are not the people's army in the sense that the people are not afraid of us. Have pity on the army who people fear. Such an army cannot win.

All in all, the strength we have today comes from the people, and we are part of the people. We are part of them and we derive our strength from them like a plant from its roots; we take our juices and our food from them. Therefore, my first message to you, which you should convey to the army, is that you should work to ensure that this army does not cause fear among people. I do not know whether this is true now. It is true to a certain extent because [words indistinct] huge atrocities have been committed everywhere and people often cannot differentiate between things and occasionally they make mistakes.

These are times of upheaval. It will probably take a long time; perhaps it will only be our children who will be able to see what really happened in Bosnia these days, these years. Something like this happens to a nation once in a thousand years. This is not something that can be compared with a war (?in Bosnia) or any other war. I know some history, but even if I went far back into the past and into centuries hidden by mist, I would not be able to find anything that could be compared to this, not only in the history of our nation but, as far as I know, in the history of any other nation. Not a single stone has been left standing here. Let me say figuratively: this has been an earthquake of 12 degrees on the Mercalli scale. Everything is upside down. Everything is upside down in Bosnia.

I have had many friends in politics who became my opponents and many opponents who became my friends, true friends. Many things have changed, and if I learned any lessons from all that, I could say—and you should do the same—you should judge every person by what he did in this war. Do not ask him what happened before—there is no use in that—ask him what he did now. Do not ask him about his past merits. He could have been persecuted, he could have been a political leader somewhere [words indistinct]. A great majority believed it was so, and small wonder, the situation confirmed that this was good. [sentence as heard]

Brotherhood and unity [words indistinct] if this had been sincere it would have been good. Unfortunately, it turned out later that this was only a cover for hegemony. We were aware of this and said it out loud. Try and analyze things for yourselves and you will see how someone could have been promoted more easily, someone with greater difficulty, someone not at all—this is how we were—as Orwell said, all equal, although some more equal than others. He ridiculed this equality a bit and these societies were exactly what he was writing about. However, many people started acting. Why should anybody today be prevented from working, from helping the people if he wishes to. Therefore, do not be suspicious. Believe people until convinced to the contrary.

Do not prejudge people by saying: Oh, they are [word indistinct] people because we do not wish to create a tiny, conspiratorial society. We need people, we need each and every human being. We have lost very many people. They have killed many people, many were expelled. It is not known where many people are. Therefore, ask and double-check who a person is and what he is doing. If he fought in this war honestly and gave all he could, we consider him to be a good person. Everything else is irrelevant right now. And, of course, as far as politics goes, there are political parties because we are a democratic society. We have nothing against this. However, at the moment, only two political parties realistically exist in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

You see, I recently travelled around Bosnia. (?I) would be happy if all of you could [words indistinct]. Changes take place very quickly. Bosnia is no longer what it used to be. [words indistinct] This is somehow different, but if you ask me about my basic impressions about Bosnia, first of all I would say that they have not managed to slaughter us as we though they had done. They have

delivered terrible blows to us, but not as bad as they think or believe that they have done, and not as bad as we sometimes think.

I have added up the number of people in the free territories and I reached the figure of more than 2 million. This is a fairly reliable figure. They have not managed to destroy us as sometimes seems to us. Thousands of shells have fallen. Soldiers say that 1 million shells have fallen on Sarajevo; half of that is 500,000. However, you see, we are still holding this meeting here.

The other day we had a film festival. They want to proclaim Sarajevo the cultural center of Europe. The same thing happens throughout Bosnia. They have not managed to destroy us. Many factories have not been destroyed. Some have sustained 50 percent damage, damage to others is between 20 and 30 percent, and if there is peace in the foreseeable future, we will rebuild Bosnia, bring our people back to their homes, try to [words indistinct].

These are my two basic impressions: They have not managed to slaughter and disperse us as it seemed that they have done, and they have not managed to destroy us. I could also say that—this is why it would be good if you, too, could visit Bosnia—one needs to meet one's people. Personally, I again discovered those people in direct contacts and meetings with them. They are good people, brave people.

You see, strange things happen. Mr. President, they say, we have no bullets, no food. I expected them to say: Come on, find a solution. But, the unexpected statement follows: Please, do not give in, we will fight to the end. They have no food. It was incredible. I was sometimes genuinely confused. I did not know what to say, but that is how it was almost every time. The commander, our General Delic was with me and he can confirm that such unexpected, I would almost say illogical things, happened.

But let me not stray into philosophy. Logic is a very strange thing. It is good that we are not entirely logical. If we had been very logical, we would have surrendered, let us say, at the end of April or at the beginning of May 1992. All the world's logic was against us. (?All logic is against us.) It is sometimes good to be illogical and irrational. People are still like that; they say: We have no food, no bullets, but let us not surrender under any circumstances. We will fight to the end. They are brave people.

And third, they are also clever people. [Words indistinct] that sometimes they make hand grenades and ordinary shells from nothing. They have changed production. They used to use—I do not know—[word indistinct] tube, and now they use the same machinery to make cannons and guns. I went to a little village—of course I should not say a village—but you would have thought that there are not enough brains in such a small provincial place far away from all communication links. They made their own rifle and hung it on a wall. They said to me: You see, Mr president, that rifle is our product. We have made 300-400 rifles like that. There was a little workshop.

Therefore, we are simply holding on. We are a clever nation which owes a lot to its courage and cleverness. As I said, they are also good people, turned toward goodness and who want freedom, who do not hate anyone. I felt no hatred. Believe me, after everything, after all those very bitter experiences, I did not feel any hatred in them. The fact that there is no hatred inspires hope that things will turn out well and that there is a way out. People are (?in good spirits). They do not say that some people should be treated like this, others like that. No one speaks about revenge. True, they speak about defense and the need to liberate certain areas, and so on. But no one speaks about revenge, and that is a consoling thought.

In conclusion, I have saved a message which I consider to be of the greatest importance. You see, the army is training. This is a seminar. What will I tell you? In addition to what I have already told you, which I consider equally important, I think the most important thing to tell you is to save soldiers' lives. That is your job, your task. I would like to repeat that: save the lives of our soldiers. We do not have many people. You see, Bosnia has been plundered. The greatest treasure we have are our people. Although not as many have been murdered as we thought, our losses are huge.

I would like you to pay good attention to that. Sometimes you do not pay enough attention to that. We are a small nation, but even if we were not, they are our sons. The child they gave you is all that some people have.

This is the note on which I would like to end: Save the soldiers' lives. Thank you.

Kljuic Hails Decision To Incorporate HVO

AU1612174493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Statement by Stjepan Kljuic, Croatian member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, on the decision by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency to incorporate HVO units into the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, in Sarajevo on 16 December—recorded]

[Text] I would like to say one thing: We Croats have given our best to the defense of Bosnia-Herzegovina from the fascist aggression from the east. I am not responsible for the sins of those who have also contributed to having a number of Croats firing on Bosnia-Herzegovina. They have to answer for that.

At the moment it is clear that we cannot have two [army] commands, although I believe that there was no need for such a hurry and that the people should have been consulted. The result will be as follows: Those Croats who are aware that they have to preserve Bosnia-Herzegovina if they are to have a right to their homes in the future, they will continue to fight. But if someone

gives up the struggle for formal reasons, these reasons will not be valid for me because it is after all a time of war. The most important thing is that all the Croatian brigades have their own symbols, their own names—and one of them, I think the Usora Brigade, has been promoted into a Glorious brigade. This is a war of fascists against citizens. We Croats have to play our part. Our tragedy is that we have always been divided in all the wars, and that is why we are paying the highest price.

I think that the people on the ground will fight regardless against those who are destroying our homeland. I do not believe that there will be great political consequences. Anyway, this is war, and as it goes on (?conscience grows). Everyone is going to the side that they think is the right one. I think that the Croatian people who are fighting for Bosnia-Herzegovina have chosen the right side, because—if we are to be completely political—they are thus decisively fighting for Croatia. There will never be a Croatia without Bosnia-Herzegovina.

UN Commander: 15,000 Soldiers Needed for Plan

AU1712130293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] In an interview he gave to the Sarajevo Studio 99 radio station last night, General Francis Briquemont, commander of the UN troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina, said that 15,000 soldiers are sufficient for the implementation of the peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina. By this Briquemont denied some people's political evaluations that there can be no efficient implementation of the peace plan without 40,000 or 50,000 soldiers. In reply to the question of whether peace will come about if a peace plan is signed, Gen. Briquemont said that if an agreement is drafted which will be accepted out of a true desire for peace, then there should be no problems.

UNPROFOR Reports on Fighting in Sarajevo

AU1612142493 Paris AFP in English 1334 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Dec 16 (AFP)—Six people were wounded when a mortar shell hit a bread line in Sarajevo's old town Thursday [16 December] after fighting between the Moslem-led Bosnian army and besieging Bosnian Serb forces worsened here, hospital workers said.

Two of the people were seriously injured when the shell plowed into Marshal Tito Avenue, the main avenue of the old town, at 1:20 p.m. near two trucks loaded with bread awaiting distribution to civilians. The incident came a day after heavy shelling killed three civilians and wounded eight in the Bosnian capital. Major Idesbald van Biesebroeck of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) said earlier Thursday 580 Serb shells fell on the city between 6 p.m. Wednesday and 9:30 a.m. and "an important number of Bosnian shells" also were fired.

On both days, Bosnian government forces began the clashes by firing mortars at the Serbs, who then responded massively, the spokesman said. He said the worst-hit areas were in western Sarajevo—Stup, held by government forces, and Rajlovac, held by Serbs. Infantry attacks backed by heavy automatic weapons fire broke out at dawn in Grbavica, a central part of the city held by Serbs which Bosnian forces are trying to capture. U.N. military observers reported three civilians killed and eight others wounded Wednesday in Sarajevo, the spokesman said.

Elsewhere in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the situation remained "tense," particularly in the north, around Doboj, and in the break-away Moslem enclave of Bihac, in the northwest. Serb forces "launched a major attack in the area of Doboj" on Wednesday, firing some 1,7000 artillery and mortar shells at Serb forces, the spokesman said.

Peace talks aimed at ending the 20-month conflict between Bosnia's Serbs, Moslems and Croats are to resume in Geneva on Tuesday.

Meanwhile explosions destroyed three 16th-century Moslem monuments on Wednesday in Banja Luka, Bosnia's Serb-held second city, the Belgrade daily BORBA said. It was not known which side was responsible for destroying the clock tower, Bosnia's most ancient, and the Pasha Ferhad and Pasha Halil mausoleums. All are classed as world heritage works of art by UNESCO.

Croat Bosnian forces meanwhile freed 434 Moslem prisoners Wednesday and turned them over to Moslem forces at Dretelj, near the southern city of Mostar, Sarajevo radio said Thursday. The International Committee of the Red Cross oversaw the release, backed by UNPROFOR. Hospital sources later said five other people—in addition to the six hurt in the bread line—were injured in shelling in Sarajevo on Thursday.

'Concern' Over Tuzla Attacks

AU1612170093 Paris AFP in English 1630 GMT 16 Dec 93

[By Pierre Lhuillery]

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, Dec 16 (AFP)—[passage omitted] The office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees here said that 21 people had been evacuated to the United Arab Emirates for medical purposes. The evacuees, comprising nine patients and 12 relatives, were flown to Ancona on Italy's Adriatic coast.

An UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] spokesman in Zagreb said the number of deliberate attacks on UN personnel and vehicles in both Bosnia and Croatia had increased alarmingly in recent days. Shannon Boyd said eight such attacks had been recorded Tuesday and seven others on Wednesday, wounding two UN staffers.

The attacks, in violation of agreements signed by all parties in Geneva last month, were disrupting aid supplies, and the situation in the northeastern region of Tuzla, where two convoys and a UN observation post were attacked by Serbs last Saturday, gave rise to "very much concern." She warned that "air support in its many forms is one of the options at the disposal of the force commander and that he is always considering it when there is a dangerous situation."

The UN rapporteur on human rights violations in former Yugoslavia, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, in a letter to UN chief Butrus Butrus-Ghali called for the opening of Tuzla airport, where a landing strip, one of the largest in the former federation, has remained unused since the start of the Bosnian conflict. This would demonstrate that UN-designated "safe areas" "do not exist just on paper," he said. The situation in eastern Bosnia, including Tuzla and the enclaves of Srebrenica, Gorazde and Zepa, was "a humanitarian disaster," he said in the letter released in Geneva.

The UNHCR spokesman in Sarajevo, Ray Wilkinson, said a 13-truck convoy carrying 78 tonnes of aid reached Gorazde on Thursday. Earlier convoys had been deliberately obstructed by surrounding Serb forces.

Elsewhere in Bosnia the situation remained tense, particularly in the north, around Doboj, and in the breakaway Moslem enclave of Bihac, in the northwest. Serb forces "launched a major attack in the area of Doboj" on Wednesday, firing some 1,700 artillery and mortar shells at Serb [as received] forces, van Biesebroeck said.

Meanwhile explosions destroyed three 16th-century Moslem monuments on Wednesday in Banja Luka, Bosnia's Serb-held second city, the Belgrade daily BORBA reported. It was not known which side was responsible for destroying the clock tower, Bosnia's most ancient, and the Pasha Ferhad and Pasha Halil mausoleums. All are classed as world heritage works of art by UNESCO.

Attacks on Olovo, Zavidovici, Jablanica Noted

AU1712110293

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 17 December within its regular 20-minute newscast carries several reports on the fighting in the republic.

A correspondent whose name is indistinct says that the "joint occupiers' offensive on the Olovo battlefield is entering its (?40th) day today. (?Yesterday's) fierce shelling of [word indistinct] positions and (?districts) [word indistinct] continued into last night. For and umpteenth time, the joint aggressor carried out a retaliation for the defeats and losses in the offensive so far by attacking unprotected civilians with [word indistinct] and 122-mm howitzers from the strongholds at [names indistinct] and 120-mm mortars from the direction of (Arapovica), Ajdanovici, and (Silajevici)." Further, the correspondent says that "in yesterday's Olovo war chronicle, new flights of enemy [word indistinct] aircraft of the Orao [Eagle] type have been registered but failed to carry out combat activity."

In a largely indistinct report through the 3d Corps Press Center, Viktor Boban says that "the defenders of Dubravica have been under occasional fire from antiaircraft guns, anti-aircraft machine-guns, submachine-guns, mortars, and infantry weapons from the early evening hours yesterday to early morning hours of 17 December. The town [of Zavidovici] is spared artillery projectiles of the joint aggressors, but suffers the usual fire from antiaircraft weapons and snipers."

Hamiz Deronjic reports that "the shelling of the Brcko defense lines is continuing. Yesterday afternoon, the enemy used 60-mm, 82-mm, and 120-mm mortars to shell (Pladanj), Cupici, [name indistinct], as well as defenders' positions along the Omerbegovaca-(Vranovac) line."

Izudin Durakovic reports that "the entire last night was infernal along the defense lines in the zone covered by the 2d Operation Group. The fiercest situation last night was on the Doboj battlefield, where Chetniks used 120-mm mortars and tanks from several directions to pound defense lines and districts because of which 25 people have been seriously or lightly wounded. During the night, the aggressor brought new forces to the region of (Poljice), so an offensive is expected at this sector of the battlefield today as well."

An unnamed correspondent reads a report by the 6th Corps Information Service saying that "the regrouping of [word indistinct] Ustashas and their military hardware that was registered earlier on has resulted in the so far most intensive shelling of all defense lines of Jablanica and its suburbs on which more than 500 shells of all calibers have fallen." Further on, the report says that "Konjic defense lines at Prelj and (Donje Selo) were exposed by provocative fire by the well-known enemies" and that "the 6th Corps fighters are firmly keeping their positions, but they failed to respond to the fire from the joint enemy, except in unavoidable cases."

Official Promises Olovo Will Not Fall

AU1612210193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Interview with Camil Pasalic, member of the Olovo War Presidency, by Midhat Kulender in Sarajevo on 16 December—recorded]

[Text] [Kulender] It will soon be 40 days since the onset of the Chetnik offensive on Olovo and the heroic defense put up by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army fighters. Mr. Pasalic, what is the current situation in the area?

[Pasalic] The current situation in Olovo is very tough when it comes to military operations, particularly as the chetniks are very interested in capturing this heroic

town. They are trying to achieve their plan of taking the corridor along the Krivaja River, and linking up the Mt. Romanija and Mt. Ozren regions.

As for the civilian population, the people in Olovo are carrying on with their lives despite all the daily hardships. I can convey a message from the Olovo people and army on this occasion that the Chetniks and their satellites shall not pass, they will not succeed in their plan.

On this occasion I would like to greet all the Lilies (reference to heraldic device on Bosnia-Herzegovina state flag], the fighters of our army, on the behalf of the Olovo fighters and people. We must endure and preserve our Bosnia.

TANJUG Reports on Fighting in Sarajevo, Bihac

LD1612173293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1455 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Dec 16 (TANJUG)—Moslem forces on Thursday [16 December] continued fierce attacks on Sarajevo, capital of the ex-Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in an attempt to capture the Bosnian Serb defence lines. Bosnian Serb military sources said that the Moslem mortars and infantry fire focused on the Serb-held suburbs of Ilijas, Vogosca, Ugresic, the Zuc hill and the "Pretis" factory. The Moslems are intensly massing new forces, which arrived from Breza, central Bosnia.

The same sources reported battles throughout Wednesday night in the area of the Rajlovac settlement, close to Sarajevo. At the same time, Moslem troops in northwest Bosnia on Thursday mounted infantry and mortar attacks on the Bosnian Serb defence lines near Bihac, local Bosnian Serb sources said.

These sources reported the regrouping of the Moslem troops, all of which indicates that in preparation is a new Moslem offensive in the Bihac front. There was no peace in Thursday in northern Bosnia where the Moslems continued attacking the region of Doboj, the Bosnian Serb sources said.

Moslem attacks were also registered on Thursday in the front at Trebava, Maglaj and Mt. Ozren (all in northern Bosnia). The Croatian radio reported fierce fighting between the Bosnian Croats and Moslems, especially near Zepca, central Bosnia, which was attacked by the Moslem infantry from five directions.

According to the radio, the defence ministry of Herzeg-Bosnia (state of Bosnian Croats) announced that the Moslems shelled Zepce with several hundred cannnon, tank and mortar shells.

HVO Reportedly Leaves POW's on Front Line

AU1612200093

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1800 GMT on 16 December carries in its regular 35-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in the republic. Reception is fair.

Velid Djindo reports from Olovo that "at the moment of filing this report, we received news from the front that several minutes ago the brave Olovo defenders have destroyed an enemy [Serb] 155-mm howitzer. Congratulations!"

In his report from Gracanica, Izudin Durakovic says that "the chetniks are poorer for two more tanks as of today. Even though pounded by the heaviest of artillery, the brave defenders of the 109th Doboj Brigade today repulsed a combined tank-infantry attack by the [Serb] aggressor, and killed two T-84 tanks. Angered by the losses they suffered in men and equipment, the Chetniks shelled—and are still shelling—the residential districts of Gracanica from several directions."

Reporting from Gorazde, Enes Musovic says that "the news of the month from the besieged town is that the UNHCR convoy with food has finally arrived after 40 days of unsuccessful attempts at breaking through the impenetrable Chetnik walls."

The Mostar Press Center reports that "continuing to violate all the principles of POW exchanges, at about 1700 today, HVO soldiers literally kicked out onto the airport runway some 250 prisoners from their concentration camp at the heliodrome—whom they had ferried there in four trucks—leaving them to their own fate on the very front line, and the realistic possibility of a massacre. This method of releasing POW's, leaving them on one of the hottest front lines, without the presence of the International Red Cross, gives rise to justified suspicions that this is another attempt by the HVO to conceal crimes that have been taking place in this camp and others, according to witnesses' accounts."

The Bosnia-Herzegovina 1st Corps reports on the situation in Sarajevo, saying that "one Sarajian was killed today and 35 were wounded by the aggressor's shells." The report claims that during the day "tons of steel have been dropped on the city, and at this moment explosions are sending quakes through some parts of Sarajevo. Another uncertain night is ahead of us." The report warns the citizens to take all the safety measures laid down in the rules of the general alarm, which remains in force.

Valentic, Granic on Murders in Algeria

LD1612161593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Excerpts] At the beginning of today's session of the Croatian Government, Prime Minister Nikica Valentic and the Minister for Foreign Affairs Mate Granic spoke about the crime in Algiers.

[Begin recording [Valentic] [passage omitted] We as a government are duty-bound to condemn, as we are doing now, extremism as a principle, something this government has always done and is doing. We express our indignation at not only the murder itself, something that in itself testifies to the brutality of the perpetrators, but at the way in which this murder was carried out—coldly, with weapons in an almost ritualistic way. [passage omitted]

[Granic] Algiers has been unstable for as long as two years. Strong Islamic fundamentalism and exceptionally powerful extremist fundamentalist groups have emerged as a reaction to the failure of the African model of socialism. In the beginning there were only mutual showdowns. Since this summer, they have been aimed at the foreigners living in Algeria.

We received the first reports of the deteriorating situation in Algeria from our ambassador as early as August. We demanded protection for our workers from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and from Algeria's National Security. It should be noted that on several occasions over the past week we have talked to them at the highest level. On the other hand the Croatian firms; Ingra, Hidroelektra, and Melioracija, plus ten Croatian citizens who work for foreign companies, have been withdrawing their workers. The total number of Croatian citizens is about 65.

It should be noted that since a month ago the situation has been rapidly deteriorating because of the most extremist Islamic fundamentalists who have particularly radicalized their intensions toward foreigners, threatening to kill and expell foreigners. Approximately ten days ago we decided to withdraw staff from our embassy. Two days before this crime our ambassador talked with the Head of National Security and the state secretary of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

One should conclude that the Algerian side, which itself is being threatened by these extreme Islamic fundamentalists, I refer to the Algerian Government, has not done enough to protect the Croatian workers, Croatian citizens. Today, a delegation of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs will visit Algeria. We have decided that all the workers should come back and that our citizens working for foreign companies should be given the same advice, that is to come back, and so should the complete staff of the embassy except the ambassador.

Once we receive a report on the incident, we will decide which additional measures to take in addition to the protest note to the Algerian Government that we sent yesterday. We will also warn the entire world public of the danger of Islamic fundamentalism. It should be noted that a week ago Mr. Ejup Ganic [Muslim member of Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency] visited Algeria, and a number of Islamic fundamentalist leaders have spent time in Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

Delegation Investigates Incident

LD1612171793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] A special Croatian delegation headed by Deputy Foreign Minister Ivo Sanader is now on a visit to the Algerian capital. The delegation members, accompanied by Ambassador Vinko Kandzija, embassy officials, and representatives of the Hidroelektra company, have visited the [word indistinct] construction site and the hospital where two wounded Croatian citizens are recuperating.

Ivo Sanader and the Croatian delegation met with Algerian Foreign Ministry officials and reviewed in detail the circumstances under which 12 workers of the Zagreb company were massacred. They demanded that the Algerian authorities launch an immediate and thorough investigation into the outrage and duly punish the perpetrators.

Babic's Election as RSK Prime Minister Viewed

AU1612215493 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Report by Krste Bijelic from Knin]

[Text] Official and definite results of the republic of Serbian Krajina's elections, held on 12 December, have still not reached the republican electoral committee. Moreover, the republican committee still has not made a decision regarding the many complaints pertaining to the regularity of the elections. However, this did not deter the Serbian Democratic Party of Krajina and its leader Milan Babic from proclaiming an electoral victory, although this is—according to the government of the republic of Serbian Krajina—in the exclusive domain of the republican electoral committee.

Owing to the impatience of one party to sit in the armchair of power, and the resoluteness of the other party to persevere in proving great irregularities in the electoral process, the atmosphere in the republic of Serbian Krajina, and particularly in Knin, is becoming increasingly poisonous. Proof of this is this morning's incident on Knin Television, perpetrated by Nenad Maric, an employee of the Interior Ministry, because—as he said—he is dissatisfied with the way Knin Television reported and continues to report on the elections, as well as the fact that last night, the RTB evening newscast was not broadcast to a considerable part of Krajina. The Interior Ministry immediately reacted, condemned Maric's act, and initiated legal proceedings against him.

As has been reported in certain media, Milan Babic has already compiled a new government in which Djordje Bjegovic, current prime minister of the republic of Serbian Krajina and leader of the Serbian Party of Krajina Socialists, is supposed to be the new minister for energy resources. This was the reason for a brief interview with Mr. Bjegovic. Unfortunately, owing to difficulties caused by a storm and poor lines, but also owing to difficulties caused by the leaders of Knin Television, in this telephone dispatch we will only be able to recount the essence of Bjegovic's statement.

He claims that he was not consulted on the organization of the future government, and that this deed was just one in a series committed by Babic's impatient campaign headquarters which is heeding neither the government's regulations nor the warning of the republican electoral committee that presidents and a new government can only be proclaimed on the basis of complete and official results. The haste exhibited so far can only heighten the tension in the Krajina and lead to more dangerous conflicts, rather than just isolated incidents, believes Djordje Bjegovic.

Report Cites Unofficial Results

AU1612192393 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 8 December 93 p 8

[Report by M. Nedeljkov: "Belgrade Was Defeated in Knin"]

[Text] Belgrade—Having seen the first unofficial results of the so-called presidential elections in the Knin krajina, the election advertisement of Milan Martic, first policeman of Knin, seems to have been repeatedly shown to television viewers in Serbia in vain. Money (which, we know, Martic does not have) for all those posters (which are a dead ringer for election campain posters of the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia]) was spent in vain, influential Serbian socialists—Radovan Pankov, Brana Crncevic, Mihalj Kertez, Milorad Vucelic...—spoke in vain at pre-election gatherings of Milan Martic.

All that was in vain, for the Knin dentist Milan Babic won against the Belgrade favorite, Knin policeman Martic. The politics of Slobodan Milosevic was thus defeated for the second time across the Drina (the first defeat was the refusal of the Bosnian Serbs to accept the Vance-Owen plan), and that will be a negative influence on the rating of Milosevic's socialists at the elections in Serbia on 19 December.

If we add the fact that quite a few of Seselj's Radicals have, already in the first round of elections, won a seat in the "Krajina parliament," then it is obvious that the official Belgrade suffered one of the most severe blows in Knin since the disintegration of former Yugoslavia. That blow is even harder considering the fact that elections in Serbia will take place in a couple of days, and the victory of "anti-Milosevic men"—Babic and V. Seselj's Radicals—will most significantly influence the orientation of voters on this side of the Drina.

In any case, the Belgrade authorities were wrong in "betting on" Martic, although they are trying to "find consolation" in the fact that it is most important that the first man of the "krajina" be a tough nut in negotiating with the Croats. Milan Babic is definitely a case in point, but we must not forget the statement of B. Jovic, vice-president of the SPS, who said: "Babic is the most stubborn man I have ever met, and he proved that in the way he replied to Milosevic."

Concerning Babic's obstinacy and sharpness, it is not realistic to expect that he will also use his election victory to repay his "debt" to the Serbian president. Let us not forget that Milosevic once replaced Babic and put the warehouseman G. Hadzic in his place.

Finally, what Milosevic's socialists object most are definitely Babic's strong ties with the Serbian emigration. We know that the Chetnik duke Momcilo Djujic (in emigration in the United States) has an extremely high opinion of the Knin dentist, and regards him as the only legitimate representative of the Serbian nation in "krajina." But we also know that Milosevic's socialists will never "forgive" Djuic's Chetniks, and a split and (another) open conflict between Babic and Milosevic will probably take place soon.

We must also say that the rumor in Belgrade has it that the more and more frequent "failures" of the Belgrade regime are a bad omen for the ruling SPS. They made a wrong bet when the Bosnian Serbs were supposed to accept the Vance-Owen plan; they bet on the wrong man at the elections in "krajina."

Are they betting on the wrong man in this week's elections in Serbia, too? If they will not cheat at voting so much and if there will not be any "night-time voting," many say they are betting on the wrong man.

Article Views Serbian Influence on Knin Rebels

AU1712120893 Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Dec 93 p 8

[Article by Fran Visnar: "Fear, Rage, and Impotence Pull the Trigger"]

[Text] Why has there been no cease-fire in the south of Croatia, as has been the case with the eastern and western battlefields?

There are several reasons. One of them is the desire of the Knin rebels (the so-called "firm line") to show during the pre-election weeks that they are "unyielding fighters for the Serbian cause." It is enough that the Croats move but one cannon or mortar five meters away (for any reason), and Knin will immediately issue an order to shoot. The Serbs at that part of the front lines have displayed a great deal of nervousness, so they will open fire "for prevention," completely unprovoked. They have a double fear of the Croatian Army: they fear sudden commando attacks, at which the Croatian side is undoubtedly much stronger, and the possibility that the

Croats take a wider offensive before the beginning of the December elections, similar to the one at Maslenica in January 1993.

Manolic Divided the People of Knin

The Serbs also fear that Croatia, if it does not strike before the elections or during the elections, will do so later, maybe even around Christmas, as large, excellently armed Croatian Army formations have been concentrated in the entire area. The Knin leaders who are among the rebel Serbs do not trust Tudjman's peace initiative at all. They believe that it is only "bait" that the Serbs are supposed to swallow, and once they relax and soften, a fierce Croatian attack will follow. "Typical tactics used by the Americans 120 years ago against the Indians," said Radio Knin. Manolic's initiative for the integration of parts of Croatian and Serb military and police formations was met with various responses by the rebels. Those who reject it with a disdainful smile will react as well as those who think that it is only a matter of "releasing fog," but that this peace offer should not be "thrown in the well" that easily. There are also opinions that Zagreb has thrown the hook only because the international community has been putting pressure on Croatia.

The Knin Serbs most fear the possibility that the Croatian Army may soon cross their front lines and mine fields. That would completely destroy the morale of the people, who have had very low living standards, which has been taking its toll: there have been many cases of refusing to obey orders, leaving positions, more cases of the usual winter sickness (flu, pneumonia, even tuberculosis), discontent with status and living standards. These holes in the Serbian command are being patched up by bringing in volunteers from Serbia and small units of the regular Serbian army (for instance, the Nis one), who have the task of psychologically stabilizing the low morale and watching over facilities of military importance.

The Serbian tactics of "fire and destroy with artillery from a distance, weaken and confuse the enemy defense, occupy the abandoned, burn, destroy, and mine the occupied, and populate the preserved with your own people, expel the others," applied since 1991 in the south of Croatia, has reached its climax. The Knin sheriffs can, objectively, not go further than that. Namely, the Serbs in Knin do not have the power that the neighboring Serb army, Karadzic's and Mladic's, does. Despite the great quantities of medium and heavy arms, the problem of bringing in fresh, trained, and motivated people will become increasingly acute, especially in the coming months.

During 1993 the rebel Serbs had their units on the alert numerous times. The climax of their readiness for a major skirmish was reached in July and August when Knin really expected Zagreb to strike at the entire war front. As, apart from the commando attack at Medacki Dzep, and returning fire, that did not happen, there is no method that would keep all those people on permanent alert and full concentration, even more so as they are now paid less than at the time when they were in regular military service with the "Yugoslav National Army". They have also not been eating well, and when they go on short leave, they find cold homes, members of their families cold, malnourished, and often sick, and empty stores (without liquor and cigarettes). All this, naturally, only increases the weariness and stress, and creates disappointment and bitterness. All the Serbs at the front lines see (through binoculars and observation devices) what the military standard in the Croatian Army is, where, thanks to the good, regular supply, there are no shortages.

Separated from the Belgrade Teat

Keeping up with life in Croatia by watching TV causes envy and a tendency to compare. In their "free Krajina" they can only breathe as much fresh air and drink as much water as they please. Everything else is subject to a strict regime of restriction. While a pack of cigarettes is quite a normal thing for a Croatian soldier, a Serbian one craves for tobacco smoke. The times of the Balkan wars, the Corfu refugees and the muddy trenches of Salonika, are being repeated—one cigarette goes round a squad, a pack round an entire platoon.

At present, such solidarity in poverty can hold a 130-kilometer long front line for only so long. The fear of the "Ustashas" is no longer enough. Whatever the militantly disposed leaders in Knin may say, they know very well that the milk of the exhausted mother Serbia will soon dry out. Separated from the Belgrade teat, and without a global lifting of the sanctions, the Knin people will see spring and the strengthened Croatians in the state of physical and mental exhaustion, stuck in the trenches without the possibility of jockeying for position. That does not mean that they will not fight, but they will no longer be able to hold together a sufficient number of motivated military conscripts and volunteers capable of withstanding concentrated Croatian attacks. Many are packing their bags already, waiting for a chance to escape. For instance, there are more deserters from the Knin parastate in Paris and London than in Belgrade (the most needed generations with the specific training).

The Sons and the Stepmother

This is why everything depends on the outcome of the elections in Belgrade. If Milosevic and his socialists win, the people in Knin will have to prepare themselves for a different treatment in order not to be "ambushed in the open" like Seselj's followers. There have been many signals indicating that Knin will, instead of having the status of a "favorite spoiled son," end up in the position of a "child whose father remarried." Namely, in order to have the deadly sanctions lifted as soon as possible, Milosevic will start (before the eyes of the world) breaking the "resistance" and "disobedience" of the local Knin leaders, drowning them in a cup of water, if necessary. It would be an illusion to think that they will be able to oppose him, even if they wanted to, especially if Milosevic's people win the majority of votes.

Without Belgrade, the rebel Serbs would be like a turtle without a shell. It should therefore not be surprising if any more permanent cease-fire soon "breaks out" in southern Croatia too. Though it may seem to be the first stage of the long way to peace, it will all serve the purpose of achieving international "amnesty" for Serbia.

Rebel Serb Paramilitary Forces in Southern Croatia (total 20,000 people)

The Knin "Corps" (Knin, Djevrske, Drnis, Skabrnja, Benkovac, Obrovac)
—1 motorized infantry brigade (supported by tanks)
—1 infantry brigade (complete)
—1 tank battalion
—1 infantry brigade with side arms
—75 percent of 2 infantry brigades
—12,000 people

Commando Training Ranges [subhead]
—Golubic, Bruska
—2,000 people (including the "commandos" from police formations)

Improvised Heliports (bases)
—Udbina, Knin
MI-8 helicopters and Partizan helicopters (Gazelle SA-342); the number varies, because they fly in from Bosnia-Herzegovina

Volunteers (Serbs originally from those areas, Serbs from Bosnia- Herzegovina, regular Serb troops, foreigners)
—the Wolves from Vucjak (Knin)
—the First Volunteer Battalion (based in Bosanska Dubica)
—the Serb Volunteer Guard and Arkan's Tigers (occasionally replacing tired soldiers)
—Beli Orlovi [White Eagles], the (remaining) Seselj Chetniks
—Petar Mrkonjic volunteer regiment from Kosovo (based in Knin)
—Toplica-Kosmet unit (based in Knin)
—foreign mercenaries: individuals from Western European countries, occasionally some Slovaks, Romanians, Russians, Ukrainians, and Cossacks (arriving from Bosnia-Herzegovina), Italian unit Garibaldi (10 to 12 members)
—6,000 people

Serbian Party Offers To Play Mediation Role

AU1612192293 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 15 Dec 93 p 4

[Report by Snjezana Canic: "Serbian National Party Offers To Be a Mediator in Sector East"]

[Text] Osijek—In the presence of Branimir Glavas, UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Forces] coordinator for civilian affairs in Sector East [title as published]; Milan Djukic, vice president of the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia; Veselin Pejnovic, vice president of the SNS [Serbian National Party]; and SNS representatives from the Osijek and Baranja branch, a meeting with Phillippe Corwin, UNPROFOR coordinator for civilian affairs in Sector East, was held on Tuesday.

At the beginning of the talks which lasted for several hours, Glavas made a chronological reference to all his initiatives directed to Serbian local authorities in the occupied area in Sector East.

"After everything that happened, there was a wall of silence, no reply from the Serbian side. However, that does not necessarily mean that there will be no concrete contacts and negotiations with them. I would like to use this opportunity to inform you about views and activities of the SNS representatives and about their initiative 'Peace Without Alternative,'" said Branimir Glavas. He pointed out that, this time, he expects answers or at least indications that the other side is taking those initiatives into consideration. Having referred to the report of the Secretary General of the UN Butrus Butrus-Ghali on extending the UNPROFOR mandate, Corwin spoke about levels, i.e. prerequisites for solving the problem in Sector East. This refers to total cease-fire, establishment of economic and business contacts, and the political solution as the ultimate goal. He pointed out that, during those meetings in Osijek, he was convinced of the democratic activities and democracy in general on the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

Milan Djukic presented his representatives as legitimate representatives of the Serbs, emphasizing that some of their family members are also in the UNPA [United Nations Protected Area] zones. "We must do everything to realize the negotiations between the Serbs and the Croats, and to enable citizens from the free territory to enter UNPA zones, which has nothing to do with the return of the Croats to the occupied areas," said Djukic and expressed disagreement with levels, i.e. order of conditions which are supposed to lead to political solutions. He thinks that the Serbs must, first of all, relinquish illusions about creating a separate state and that UNPA zones must reach the highest level of political and cultural autonomy.

Veselin Pejnovic was very critical of the issue of violating human rights. In addition to saying that human rights are also violated in Croatia, he thinks that human rights violations are very much present in UNPA zones, and that they are encouraged by the army. Therefore, Pejnovic warned that if, in future, the efficient solution of the problem in Sector East is not found—which is possible, due to the fact that the Serbs will not cooperate—the Croats may cancel the UNPROFOR mandate. According to him, in case that happens, the Serbs would be the biggest losers. Pejnovic asked Phillippe Corwin to tell Butrus Butrus-Ghali that the SNS is against creating buffer zones, for, in that case, the Serbs from Croatian towns would be "chased down into ghettos." Corwin

wanted to know how many Serbs live on the free territory of Croatia and whether they have Croatian citizenship. He was given concrete answers that there are 250,000 Serbs on the free territory of Croatia at present, and that 7,600 people applied for Croatian citizenship. According to Croatian representatives who were present there, difficulties in obtaining citizenship are only the result of inefficiency and red tape in administration.

Milan Djukic wanted to know whether ordinary people and the authorities think alike, referring to the situation in the occupied area. Corwin gave him a straightforward reply: "I would say that ordinary people are tired of this war and that they want to live normal lives. However, at the same time, there is a lot of resistance toward Croatian authorities. In my opinion, they are prepared to endure all difficulties and even live in poverty as long as they have their own authorities." At the end of this meeting, Glavas informed Corwin that, in the course of the meeting, he received a fax message from Ljubisa Sobota, journalist from VECERNJE NOVOSTI of Belgrade, who said he wanted to visit Osijek, talk to Branimir Glavas, and write about the situation. Among other things, Branimir Glavas asked Phillippe Corwin to organize a visit for a Msgr. Ciril Kos, bishop of Djakovo and Srijem, to parishes in temporarily occupied area.

The most important initiative made at this meeting is the proposal of the Croatian side, with the agreement of the SNS, to organize a meeting between Croatian citizens of Serbian nationality and the SNS representatives. That means that Djukic and Pejnovic—before the Croatian authorities—are prepared to make the first preliminary talks in the occupied area, in Osijek or Beli Manastir.

Report on Cooperation Agreement With Albania

AU1612172893 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 15 Dec 93 p 9

[Report by Kresimir Kopcic: "Together Against Terrorism"]

[Text] Zagreb—On Tuesday [14 December], official talks between the delegation of the Ministry of Public Order of the Republic of Albania, led by Minister Agron Musaraj, and representatives of the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] of the Republic of Croatia were held in Vila Prekrizje, after which they signed the agreement on mutual cooperation.

The delegation of the Albanian ministry came on an official visit to Croatia on Monday, and during their stay they visited the Center for Crime Investigation and Law Enforcement and the Croatian MUP Academy; they also talked to representatives of Zagreb and Karlovac police departments. The agreement signed on Tuesday forms the basis for further development of international relations and joint action in crime prevention.

As Minister Musaraj stated after he signed the agreement, the visit of the Albanian delegation has significantly improved cooperation between Albania and Croatia, and it presents an official confirmation of such tendencies. The minister said he was satisfied with the position of the numerous Albanian minority in Croatia, which forms the bond of cooperation between the two countries.

Deputy Interior Minister of the Republic of Croatia Zeljko Tomljenovic, who signed the agreement on behalf of the ministry, pointed out that the spread of organized crime and terrorism is an imminent threat both in the world and on the territory of central and southern Europe.

Tomljenovic said: "And that is the great importance of this agreement. The governments of Croatia and Albania will, in the future, make joint efforts to prevent terrorism which threatens the development of democracy and law-ordered state, and through exchanging experiences and ideas, we will be more efficient in disabling centers of power."

Federal

Lilic Condemns 'Militant' Albanian Policy

AU1612173893 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Zoran Lilic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Supreme Defense Council, visited the headquarters of the Yugoslav Army's military schools in Belgrade. He was accompanied by Lieutenant General Momcilo Perisic, chief of general staff of the Yugoslav Army. Our correspondent Mijusko Tomic has the details.

[Begin recording] [Tomic] In the course of the past few months, said President Lilic, I have toured the 1st, 2d, and 3d Armies, the Air Force and Antiaircraft Defense, and the Navy. Moreover, I have held extensive talks in the military economic sphere and visited economic organizations in this sphere, and the Military Hospital. In Lilic's words, the visit to the military schools' headquarters rounds off the activity of acquainting himself with the Yugoslav Army's main activities. President Lilic said:

[Lilic] As regards the current international and military-political situation in our vicinity, I would like to expound on what I consider to be crucial for understanding our position in Europe and the world. This concerns the new phase that has come into being in the development of the international community. This is characterized by the end of the Cold War, the transition from a bipolar, bloc system of balance between military forces to a system of collective security and the attempt at establishing a new world order. These changes in the international community have influenced the establishment of a new constellation in the ratio of force, power, and interests, which has served as a basis for a new division of interest spheres and influence zones. An obvious disparity has developed between the existing normative world order, embodied in the system of organization of the United Nations, and the actual structure of the international community and the relations within it.

International law is being increasingly used as an instrument and is being turned into a weapon of political power, force, and influence. This is particularly evident in Europe, and the example of Germany can best demonstrate the confirmation of the thesis that a country's economic power is almost more significant than its political and military power. In addition to the attempts of the new world centers of power, a significant role in the new world order—particularly in Europe—has been given to insisting on principles established within the CSCE, particularly in the Helsinki and Paris Charters [sentence as heard]. However, soon these generally acceptable principles were replaced by calls for the observance of human rights, particularly for the observance of minority rights in others' backyards. This is increasingly becoming an instrument which is used to justify meddling in countries' internal affairs. In addition to this, the conflict of interests which was formerly hidden by the bloc division is becoming increasingly evident. The topics of development, demographic movement, and ecology are becoming increasingly topical, because the catastrophic consequences which could ensue if they are further neglected are being recognized. The danger of the weaker and underdeveloped becoming the victims of ecological waste dumped by the powerful and wealthy is also becoming evident.

With the disintegration of the bipolar world and the end of the Cold War, the United States has emerged as the only superpower. With the establishment of the new world order, the United States—according to its own recipe—is trying to maintain and further strengthen its position. The United Nations, as the most universal international organization, has become the main instrument and the mainstay of the United States, but also of other developed countries, in realizing the new world order. This is best demonstrated by the attempt of the organization to adapt to the newly established ratio of power in the international community, which can be illustrated by the possible membership of Germany and Japan in the Security Council. The principle of interventionism in the name of so-called international justice has emerged at the very top of realizing the universal principles of the activity of the United Nations. This is best illustrated by the rapidly increasing presence of UN peace forces in various corners of the world.

[Tomic] According to President Lilic, war has been raging in the regions of the former Yugoslavia for a full two and a half years, and new points of conflict are emerging throughout the world.

[Lilic] It is well known that the interests of world powers and countries who traditionally have aspirations toward Yugoslavia clash in the regions inhabited by us. New states have been established in the immediate vicinity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which came into being after secession from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Some of them are hostile toward the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and have essentially become the puppets of the most influential centers of power in Europe and the world. From the military-political standpoint, it can be maintained that the security and independence of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have been threatened for some time, through the application of all types of force and pressure, with the exception of open armed aggression. We are aware of this, and that is why we need to constantly take appropriate measures on the economic, political, state, diplomatic, and military level in order to maintain the internal stability of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and protect its independence, integrity, and territorial integrity.

Respecting the goals and principles set by the UN Charter, and the documents of the CSCE, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia remains consistently committed to peace and to the peaceful solution of all controversial

issues between states and peoples, and it is completely open to democratic processes in the world. We wish to build relations of trust and understanding with our neighbors, all the time respecting the principle of not meddling in their internal affairs. However, by the same token, we will not allow meddling in our internal affairs. Based on its peaceful policy, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will resolutely reject all threats and pressures, dictates and blackmail which endanger its vital state and national (?spheres). [Words indistinct] forces in them quickly raised their heads, after the first time that they were more seriously rocked by secessionist violence. However, when faced with our decisiveness, they soon reverted back to good neighborly cooperation. The only exception—and I wish particularly to stress this today—is the militant and warmongering policy of the current Albanian leadership. What is hidden behind the request to place Kosmet under UN protectorate and NATO military protection is actually the true background of this policy [sentence as heard]. Therefore, this policy makes any talks regarding the realization of human and national rights of the Albanian minority on these premises practically worthless. We are in favor of applying the highest standards for the protection of human and national rights. However, this policy of slander and nationalist aspirations will not help them realize the so-called greater Albania at our expense and on our territory. [end recording]

Jovanovic Discusses Upcoming Peace Talks

LD1612221393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1545 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—Vladislav Jovanovic, minister of foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, today officially confirmed that the next round of peace negotiations on Bosnia will be held on 21 December in Geneva, and the day after in Brussels, with the participation of all European Union [EU] foreign ministers.

Commenting on the forthcoming round of peace negotiations, Jovanovic said today in a statement for TANJUG and Belgrade Radio that "there are many reasons for us to hope for a greater progress and a final success at the negotiations."

"We base our hopes on our readiness to continue with our cooperation, and on the other hand, on the absolute interest of the EU to rid itself of the huge problem that the war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina represents, and which is for the EU an example of a useless waste of capacity and money."

"The EU is no longer prepared to finance the warmongering of any side, or the continuation of war operations in anyone's interest," Jovanovic stressed. He added: "This is the big, serious, critical moment which has, in a fateful way, given a new opportunity to the Geneva negotiations which could this time end in a success."

In the opinion of the Yugoslav foreign minister, a successful outcome of the negotiations will largely depend on the extent to which Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic is prepared to accept a reasonable compromise, that is, on the extent to which the forces behind him will be ready to comply with the interest of the EU and of all those who are vitally interested in peace.

"It should be expected that this time all those foreign interests and Mr. Izetbegovic will be closer to peace than war, and both we and the EU are going to the negotiations in Geneva and Brussels with that hope," Jovanovic said.

Speaking about the EU's role in the peace negotiations, Jovanovic recalled that the Union is a successor to the European Community and it is "a chip off the old block."

"The EC put in jeopardy its opportunity to contribute to the solving of the Yugoslav crisis by initially adopting a policy of double standards. That policy turned out to be wrong in the process of solving the Yugoslav crisis."

"The EU went a step further in correcting that policy," Jovanovic said, and stressed: "For the first time there is now an equation mark between the end of the war in Bosnia and the beginning of lifting the sanctions. However, it is impossible for the EU to shake off overnight the legacy of the past, and there are still some remainders of double standards in its policy."

Asked to comment on the unexpected results of the elections in Russia, Vladislav Jovanovic said: "In assessing events in certain countries we strictly adhere to our traditional principle of not interfering in their internal affairs. That does not mean that we have no interest in actively following events in other countries and viewing them through the prism of our own interests."

"Concerning Russia, our traditional, I would say lasting and vital interest, is for that country to overcome the present difficulties in a democratic way as soon as possible, and to become stable and capable of exerting even greater and more positive influences on the development of international relations."

"The elections, which were seen as the first and the most democratic elections in Russian history, are in themselves a great achievement because they showed that it was possible to organize and hold fair elections in Russia."

In Jovanovic's opinion "The balance of internal powers determined the results of the elections."

"Other countries should not see the outcome of the elections through their own glasses because it is not possible to like only democracy, but not to like its results."

"We are glad to see the strengthening of democratic processes in Russia, and we believe in the power of

democracy, which will ensure that the country stays on the path leading toward stability and a greater influence on international relations," Jovanovic said.

"In every country there are some permanent interests which are never seriously affected by changes in power at the top. We are convinced that in this case the permanent interests of Russia—as an important and influential European power, especially in our region—will not be dented or threatened in any way by the election results."

"On the other hand, if the elections should contribute to a speedier stabilization of the Russian society and state, that should increase the influence of Russia's diplomacy and foreign policy in the process of solving the Yugoslav crisis, and we view that with certain optimism."

Commenting on today's recognition of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [BJRM] some EU members, Jovanovic said:

"The problems faced by the BJRM in its relations with the EU and Greece are a direct consequence of its one-sided secession. If it had seceded from Yugoslavia in compliance with the old constitution—that is, in accord with other republics—there would be no such problems." In Jovanovic's opinion, the recognition of the BJRM will cause further tensions in relations with Greece. "However, this problem concerns that former Yugoslav republic, and it is up to it to deal with it. It should not expect us to deal with its problems because, by its one-sided secession from Yugoslavia, it caused unnecessary problems to us, who remained in it."

"If the question of our recognition of the BJRM is raised, we would have to point to the problem whereby the former Yugoslav republic took advantage of the right which it denies to us to this day. It opted for secession, while we remained loyal to our country. It is obvious that the BJRM denies our right to loyalty and to the state and legal continuity also, because it is indebted to those who incited it to secession."

"Consequently, a possible recognition might be seen and understood in the terms of that former Yugoslav republic recognizing our right to continuity in exchange for the recognition of its newly formed independent state. It depends on that former Yugoslav republic when this will happen," Vladislav Jovanovic said.

Serbia

Polls Forecast SPS Win, Coalition Government

LD1612202493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1419 GMT 16 Dec 93

["Pool" item; by Radmila Gabric]

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 16 (TANJUG)—In the final stage of the campaign for the December 19 early parliamentary elections in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, that is, on the eve of the so-called pre-election silence which starts on Thursday [16 December] at midnight, political parties have been addressing their last messages to the voters, trying to convince them that their candidates are the ones who can eliminate the devastating consequences of the 19-month international sanctions and ensure a better future.

Somewhat over 7,000,000 voters in Serbia have to decide between the election-campaign pledges made by 38 parties, seven coalitions, and 39 civic groups.

The ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) has urged voters again to cast their ballots for SPS candidates and show that 'Serbia is firm in the defense of its state and national interests.'

The SPS has offered to voters peace in Serbia, economic and cultural renewal, development, the equality of citizens, social justice in the distribution of the burden of the economic crisis, and battle against crime.

The Serbian Radical Party (SRS), the second strongest party in the dissolved Republican Assembly, has called on voters to opt for life to return to normal. The SRS, which was considered the SPS's unofficial coalition partner before the two parties came into conflict, has stressed that the upcoming elections are the only chance to remove from office 'the incapable socialist authorities' and elect parties which will pull the country out of the crisis and suppress crime.

The conflict between the SRS and the SPS broke out because the SRS called for a vote of no confidence in the socialist government, which resulted in the dissolution of the Republican Assembly by President of the Republic Slobodan Milosevic on October 20, with the explanation that the legislature's decision-making mechanism was blocked. The next step was the calling of the early elections for the 250-seat legislature.

The Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), the pivotal party of the Democratic Movement of Serbia (Depos), has pledged that the victory of the Depos coalition will enable the lifting of the U.N. sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to begin as early as in January. The SPO has offered a programme of economic recovery and social welfare policy, funds for which it has said have mostly been secured. The SPO has insisted it will secure all the required funds through foreign loans, foreign investments, and the return of what it describes as stolen people's assets now kept in Cyprus and banks in other countries.

The Democratic Party (DS) has urged voters to display civic courage for change and elect "a dignified and independent parliament which will narrow the presidential powers." The DS is trying to dispel voters' possible fear of change with the motto, "It cannot be worse than it is."

The message of the Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS) is, "The only solution and the only hope lie in the change of the current authorities." The DSS has advised voters to

cast their ballots "For a different, better, more beautiful, and truly democratic Serbia." It has accused the current authorities of using the U.N. sanctions as an excuse for their own responsibility for the tragic situation in the country.

The above parties have the greatest chances in the December 19 elections, according to the polls. The polls show that the SPS will carry off the largest number of votes but not enough to secure an absolute majority in parliament, meaning that it will be compelled to form the first coalition government in multi-party Serbia.

The polls show that the SPS will win a third of the votes, and be followed by Depos, the SRS, the DS, and the DSS, in the given order.

The scales could be tipped to one or the other side by those who will make the decision for whom to vote on the very day of the balloting, of whom there are 17 percent, according to the polls.

The main feature of the campaign for the December 19 elections has been that parties have organized less rallies but their leaders have made many tours to come into direct contact with the electorate. They have even gone to places they had hardly heard of before.

The socialists did not highlight in their campaign their leader Slobodan Milosevic (who has frozen his post of party president because of his duties as president of the republic), but their campaigning is summed up in the sentence, "While we have such a president, we are sure to win."

The SPO leader in all likelihood holds the record in terms of the number of held rallies, and Depos, which has insisted that it has been discriminated against on the state-run TV stations, has no doubt had the largest number of paid for TV spots. A novelty introduced by the opposition, in which the SPO has had the lead, has been the distribution of free food in streets and squares.

The SRS has organized no rallies because, as its leader Vojislav Seselj has explained, it did not want to give the authorities a chance to provoke incidents and then hold the Radicals responsible for them.

Milosevic Addresses Last Rally Before Elections

AU1612211093 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Address by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to final preelectoral rally of the Socialist Party of Serbia in Belgrade's Sava Center on 16 December—recorded]

[Text] [Two minutes of applause precedes address] Allow me, please. [applause continues] I wish to tell you that I am extremely pleased that here tonight—as in the past weeks throughout Serbia—I can see so much energy, optimism, enthusiasm, and goodwill mobilized for Serbia, for the success of the policy of peace and freedom, for the success of Serbia's policy [loud applause drowns Milosevic's voice], for the success of Serbia's and its citizens' policy, for the citizens' equality, and the success of the policy for the protection of the entire Serbian people's interests. [Milosevic speaks over applause] I am convinced that today even our greatest enemies cannot deny the success of a policy which—with so many sacrifices, but with so much solidarity—we have consistently brought to such great fruition, both in the state and national respect.

Exposed to enormous pressure, we are going thorough many storms and tempests, and poverty. However, precisely because of these pressures, these storms and tempests, this poverty, Serbia needs a stable parliament and a strong Serbia is needed to make it through this [sentence as heard]. [loud applause] That is why these elections are not ordinary elections; they are elections for a stable and strong Serbia, and every citizen [Milosevic pauses amidst applause], and every citizen—I am certain—knows very well in whose interest is a weak Serbia, and in whose interest is a strong Serbia. That is the only issue that is topical for these elections, and that is why they are different from other [elections] and former elections. That is why I wish all of you much success in the upcoming elections, in the interest of Serbia and all of its citizens, in the interest of the Serbian people [applause] and in the interest of peace and freedom. Cheers!

Djindjic Views Democrats' Campaign Platform

AU1712065693 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11-12 Dec 93 pp 10,11

[Interview with Zoran Djindjic, leader of the Democratic Party, by Dragan Bisenic; place and date not given: "The Authorities Have Left the People in the Lurch"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted]

Heavy Democratic Hand

[Bisenic] The prevailing atmosphere among the citizens is that of a downfall and falling into an abyss. One sees no opportunity for the improvement which you are talking about.

[Djindjic] First and foremost, one should create the necessary psychological preconditions. We need a democratic but heavy hand to introduce the observation of law and regulations. One has to know what the obligations of the state are toward its citizens, and vice versa. We need a government with authority, that will function as the cabinet of the state of emergency in the interest of the people.

[Bisenic] What do you mean with the state of emergency in the interest of the people?

[Djindjic] That means the state of emergency in which there are no deadlines, procedures, proceedings, and various statutes. One has to work day and night, so that

the people can see that something is happening. We have our citizens that are living in the state of emergency, and the administration that is living in the regular state. Citizens are awake 24 hours a day, pondering how to provide food, bread, medicines, while the administration appears to have plenty of time. The situation has to be the opposite. It is the administration that ought to work 24 hours a day. The heavy democratic hand is the best instrument for pursuing any policy. There is no perspective, or optimism without plan. The current administration has never disclosed any plan to the people, nor has it ever put its policy in the perspective of time, so that each citizen can see that he or she is not surplus.

[Bisenic] For such a thing we need a sort of enlightened government, a government of the people that has the moral and other capacities to lead the people. It seems, however, that today there are very few unselfish persons who are ready to make a personal sacrifice, and struggle for the common welfare.

[Djindjic] That is a question of vocation in terms of destiny and metaphysics, rather than of profession. In the existing situation the only people that can help are those who feel called to do that. I am convinced that we are those people, that we have people in the party and close to the party who would be doing that out of their own feelings, rather than to gain a personal profit, or to become celebrities. It is true that people of a different character are necessary, because what awaits us cannot be simply performed. That must be the administration that involves the people with extraordinary qualities, who will understand the situation as a personal challenge.

Today, there are many people who do not have any clear idea what they would do. Five years ago Milosevic had a clear idea that he wanted Kosovo and Vojvodina within Serbia again. That was the only clear idea he had, and the people felt it. Before Milosevic, politicians had been staggering over many years, led by their daily ideas, and performing their jobs, following the rhetorics of the party's congresses. We are now in a similar atmosphere, lacking ideas and making futile efforts. The people are now expecting a clear idea, a clear assessment of what this is all about. The general state of apathy is prevalent among the citizens, but there still exist some sparks of hope. [passage omitted]

[Bisenic] Since you are carrying out this campaign as if you were the government, could you, as the possible prime minister, project your relations with the president of the republic?

[Djindjic] Yes, I could. My starting point is the possibility of peaceful coexistence. The entire program of my government would involve the alleviation of poverty, and plans for the normal functioning of the society during the sanctions. That would be the program of the reconstruction of the system, involving also the elimination of corruption, and the nests of crime. In the case that the president vetoes some of those decisions, or calls into question some of those measures, that would mean that, given the choice between the people or power, his choice is power. Still, such a government would not endanger the position of the president, because the decisions that are under the president's authority are not under the authority of the government.

[Bisenic] The current moment is also the moment of drafting some global political arrangements regarding the Serbian issue. What is your attitude toward that?

[Djindjic] I am surprised that during all these visits of mine that question was brought up for discussion quite rarely. Neither the global policy, nor the European policy, nor the relations with Montenegro, nor the federal state have been viewed as problems at all. I met 20,000 people, and only a small number of questions referred to the war, while most of them referred to the functioning of life in Serbia.

[Bisenic] Why are those national goals so quickly forgotten?

[Djindjic] One of the reasons is that the media do not represent them as such. I have not seen a clear report on [Bosnian Serb leader Radovan] Karadzic, or anything that has clear contours, for a long time. That issue is vanishing from peoples' fields of sight in the same way as the issue of Kosovo is vanishing as a topic. The second reason is that everyday difficulties have suppressed all other issues. Until they settle their own problems, people are not able to be engaged in anything else. Still, I believe that any government should pay attention to that question, regardless of who the president is. That is not a matter of personal choice, it is a matter of the structure of consciousness that has been built over many centuries. Only those who cannot imagine themselves in the role of the authorities believe they would settle the things in quite a different way.

[Box, p 11]

[Bisenic] The regime designates both directors and criminals. Without the permission of the authorities one cannot become a criminal. How would you prevent such a practice?

[Djindjic] The first act of the good will of the authorities is the removal of the so-called cordon sanitaire which I already mentioned. On the other hand, the arrest of two ministers is not the way to fight crime; one ought to crush the entire structure of organized crime. We shall designate a particular public prosecutor for the fight against organized crime. We shall make effective links among the judges, the public prosecutor's office, and police, while at the same time carrying out the reform of the criminal law, which suggests rigorous penalties for certain kinds of crime, as rigorous as they are in the state of war. If we were to shed light on the cases of private banks, primary issue of money, importation of oil, exportation of copper and gold, we would have a grandstand view of the entire chain of organized crime,

wrapping up the society just like a spider's web. The process of disinfection would instantly wake the people up. Without it, none of the government's measures can be successful. Without it, every government would face organized crime, that would willingly offer its services.

The second step is the restoration of confidence in some essential fields. That would particularly concern pensioners, hard currency depositors, and farmers. A pensioners' fund must be urgently founded, because the pensioners are the class of society that is dying out. In a year or so all of them will die. In a year or so we shall lose 500,000 citizens. That is a fact, rather than an assumption.

If we fail to regulate the issue of bank deposits, and take some radical steps, then we cannot expect the people to have trust, and deposit their money in banks. Without individual savings accounts in banks no economy in the world can exist. The essential precondition is that the citizens start depositing their savings in the banks again.

The redemption prices [otkupne cene] have wiped out farmers' accumulations [as published] this year, and they cannot start the process of production with the money they earned from this year's harvest. If they do not start the production, the state will also be in crisis. The prices that were set for the forced redemption must be revised. Those things have to be settled within two months. If there are any obstacles for the plan to be accomplished, the government has to face the people and name those obstacles. Some things have to be named by their real names.

[Box, p 11]

[Bisenic] Why did you choose precisely the TV Politika for your campaign promoter?

[Djindjic] In my opinion, we have TV Bastille [state-run television] and the independent TV Bastille Studio B. These two TV channels are personifying two parties. One is the Socialist Party of Serbia, while the other is the Serbian Renewal Movement, that is, the Democratic Movement of Serbia. We have considerable interest to appear in the programs of both channels, but the only truly independent television is the TV Politika. Its news can be viewed without feeling sick. Its orientation toward the contemporary trends is compatible with my assessment that the future Serbia—I hope we shall be intelligent enough—must take that path.

Macedonia

Diplomatic Relations With EU Nations Welcomed

LD1612165193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1452 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Skopje, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—The Ministry of Foreign Relations [Ministarstvo za odonose sa inostranstvom] of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [BJRM] announced this afternoon that at noon today in Skopje diplomatic documents were exchanged setting up diplomatic relations with the following members of the European Union: Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Holland, and Denmark.

To mark the occasion Viktor Gaber, an undersecretary in the Ministry of Foreign Relations, received representatives of Great Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, and Italy accreditted in the BJRM in Skopje today. At the same time notes were handed over from Holland and Denmark, which officially signify the setting up of diplomatic relations. The Skopje ministry has sent appropriate notes to Copenhagen and the Hague.

In talks that Gaber had with the representatives of the four leading states in the European Union, all sides expressed satisfaction with today's development, which was described as "a new page in relations and cooperation between these countries and Macedonia," the statement said.

The establishment of diplomatic relations is "a step further in affirming the new state's international legitimacy"—the statement said.

It was also announced in Skopje that the ministries of foreign affairs of the six EU countries issued statements informing their public that they had set up diplomatic relations with Macedonia. Belgium recognized Macedonia as early as the beginning of autumn. Skopje media have been saying for days that the six EU member countries would recognize Macedonia on 16 December.

Gligorov Issues Statement

LD1612220293 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2000 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] As we have announced, an official exchange of diplomatic documents by which the Republic of Macedonia established diplomatic relations with European Union member-countries—Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands and Denmark—took place today at the Foreign Relations Ministry of the Republic of Macedonia.

On this occasion, the President of the Republic of Macedonia, Kiro Gligorov, made a special statement:

[Begin Gligorov recording] It was with exceptional pleasure that we received news on the decisions by the governments of Great Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, the French Republic, the Republic of Italy, the Kingdom of the Netherlands, and the Kingdom of Denmark to establish diplomatic relations with our country. We consider this to be an important step in the development of our overall relations—our relations with these friendly countries—and a contribution to the strengthening of our ties with European associations.

At the same time, this development opens up prospects for the gradual resolution of all open questions we face in

the Balkans today. It is also a contribution to the establishment of peace and the maintenance of stability in the entire region.

As a sovereign, independent state and UN member-country, we see our future primarily in the development of good-neighborly relations and cooperation with all our neighbors. We share the same interests with all these countries and this transcends all differences. We are particularly interested in establishing the most versatile cooperation with the Republic of Greece and we wish it to help us in our cooperation and association with the European Union in which it is firmly integrated.

The Republic of Macedonia has no territorial claims to any of its neighbors. We recognize our present borders and respect the inviolability of the borders of the Republic of Greece, which is in complete harmony with the CSCE's documents and principles. We are ready to sign an agreement on the inviolability of our southern neighbor's borders.

We are endeavoring to find solutions to all open issues in our relations with the Republic of Greece through an equitable dialogue, bilateral talks, and through the mediation of the United Nations. We wish to establish lasting trust between our two neighboring countries and open the way to the most versatile mutual cooperation, especially in the economic sphere.

A stable and prosperous Republic of Macedonia is not only in our interest—it is a realistic and long-term interest of all our neighbors and the entire region. We shall continue to invest maximum efforts to remain a constructive factor of peace and cooperation in this part of the Balkans.

Kosovo

Serbian Authorities Threaten To Impose Curfews

AU1712093793 Tirana ATA in English 0916 GMT 17 Dec 93

["Serbian Authorities Threaten Albanians With Curfew if They Do Not Take Part in Serbia's Elections"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, December 16 (ATA)— Belgrade has ordered all Serbian authorities in all the communes of Kosova that if they will not be committed so that the party in power win the majority of votes in the untimely parliamentary elections to be held soon, then a curfew will be imposed in all the communes of Kosova or leadership in these communes will be dissolved.

Albanian Leader: 'Our Goal Is Independence'

BR1712094493 Rome L'UNITA in Italian 16 Dec 93 p 14

[Interview with Shkelzen Maliqi, Kosovo Social Democratic Party Chairman, by L'UNITA correspondent in Pristina: "If They Divide Us, It Will Be War"]

[Text] The Social Democratic Party headquarters, like those of all the political forces representing Albanians in the province of Kosovo, has nothing outside to give its existence away. All it has is a small plate stating "attorney." Until a few weeks ago, when the dispute over whether or not to take part in the Serbian vote broke out, Shkelzen Maliqi was party chairman. He has since resigned, but no one is in any hurry to turn him out. The political dispute has been settled.

[L'UNITA] What were the reasons that brought you out in support of participation in the elections?

[Maliqi] No one thought that anything would really come of it. The boycott was never called into question. But I and others like me suggested that we should give it thought for the future, because we ought perhaps to play a role in these parliamentary maneuvers. My proposal was for a civic list that would press our cause—independence for Kosovo—in the Serbian parliament. Opposition to this proposal was adamant, the main objection being that we would be legitimizing the status quo. But I believe that we must use all the means at our disposal to achieve our goal. Independence will not just fall into our lap.

[L'UNITA] The Albanian parties in Kosovo are displaying great moderation and patience and are seeking to avoid a confrontation. How long can this last?

[Maliqi] In actual fact, the Albanian parties are all radical. Our goal is independence. It is only the methods that we have chosen that are moderate, or as moderate as possible. We want negotiations, but there is no common ground with Serbia, nor will there be without international mediation. To date we have only addressed extremely practical issues, such as education and work, under the Geneva Conference, but no agreement has been reached even on these matters. The negotiations have been broken off for five months.

[L'UNITA] Europe has attempted to make autonomy for Kosovo a condition for the suspension of sanctions against Serbia, tying the issue in with the Bosnia and Krajina peace process. Is this a course that you would be willing to pursue?

[Maliqi] The reference to the sanctions may help us, but the international community is approaching the issue in the wrong way, restricting its demands to autonomy for Kosovo as envisaged in the 1974 Yugoslav Constitution. We regard this as a possible point of departure, not a goal in itself, because the Yugoslav Federation no longer exists, the internal equilibrium has changed, and there is no room for an autonomous Kosovo within a Serbian state. Of course, we could live with a step-by-small-step strategy: an international protectorate, the withdrawal of troops from our territory, and perhaps UN support, as Rugova is requesting. I should also favor a transitional government formed by Albanians, Serbs, and representatives of the international community with a 10-year term of office to seek a solution, maybe remaining part of Serbia in the meantime.

[L'UNITA] The Serbs have put forward an—albeit unofficial—proposal to divide Kosovo. What is your view?

[Maliqi] Yes, there are three versions that would give Serbia from 15 to 40 percent of the territory of Kosovo. However, partition is a martial option. The Belgrade army is already carrying out maneuvers in the area. It is holding itself in readiness. All it needs to do is provoke an incident in the area, send in the tanks, and it would all be over in a matter of weeks. If a settlement were reached on Krajina and Bosnia, it could happen; Serbia is quite crazy enough. But the United States has already given a warning that it will not stand for a war in this region, where neighboring states could become involved. After the Bosnian tragedy, the principle of prevention is beginning to take root.

[L'UNITA] Do you envisage union with Albania at all?

[Maliqi] We want our independence. A new balance has to be found for the whole region. Finding it ought to be in the interests of the European states. Regional feelings are running high in Europe, and if the crisis were to deepen, things could get out of hand.

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